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Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe

Performance, Geography, Privacy

Edited by
Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph P. Ward



Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe

Broadening the conversation begun in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe* (2009), this book examines how the spatial dynamics of public making changed the shape of early modern society. The publics visited in this volume are voluntary groupings of diverse individuals that could coalesce through the performative uptake of shared cultural forms and practices. The contributors argue that such forms of association were social productions of space as well as collective identities. Chapters explore a range of cultural activities such as theater performances; travel and migration; practices of persuasion; the embodied experiences of lived space; and the central importance of media and material things in the creation of publics and the production of spaces. They assess a multiplicity of publics that produced and occupied a multiplicity of social spaces where collective identity and voice could be created, discovered, asserted, and exercised. Cultural producers and consumers thus challenged dominant ideas about just who could enter the public arena, greatly expanding both the real and imaginary spaces of public life to include hitherto excluded groups of private people. The consequences of this historical reconfiguration of public space remain relevant, especially for contemporary efforts to meaningfully include the views of ordinary people in public life.

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Acknowledgments

This volume is the result of a research program—the Making Publics (MaPs) project—that was planned and implemented during 2005–2010 by a team of scholars from several disciplines based at universities located throughout North America. Along the way, MaPs hosted seminars and conferences that drew colleagues from an ever wider array of research specializations from an even greater number of countries. A central purpose of the project was to create and disseminate new knowledge about the creation of publics in early modern Europe. This volume—like its predecessor, *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, edited by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (2010)—is one of the main outcomes of the MaPs project, and we hope that together these volumes reflect the breadth of approaches taken by members of the team. Readers should bear in mind that the chapters in this volume reflect not only the research of their individual authors but also the many conversations held at MaPs meetings during which colleagues whose work does not appear here shared their knowledge and insights by offering criticisms and suggestions for revisions on earlier drafts of what follows. For that reason, this book is a collaborative effort of the deepest kind.

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Introduction

Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe—Performance, Geography, Privacy

Steven Mullaney and Angela Vanhaelen

The question that organizes this volume can be framed and answered with deceptive ease. What do we mean when we talk about “making space public”? In an immediate or vernacular sense, we would be referring to the processes by which a place or space could be rendered accessible, open or available to a general collective entity called “the public.” The street on which you live might be “public space” in this sense, unless you live in a gated community or on a “private” road. In an analogous sense, we can (and do) talk about making information public, or buildings, books, laws and ordinances, and so forth. What is public is not private, or if we prefer a spectrum to a dichotomy, what is more public is less private and vice versa.

This everyday answer is entirely valid and good to keep in mind. It is a place to begin, however, rather than a place to end. This is not only because “the public” has a long and fraught history, deriving as it does from the Latin term for “the people,” but because “space” is also—that is, along with “the public”—a powerful social construction. This does not mean that “space” is a subjective or false concept or that it is in some way opposed to another kind of space, a real or ideal or more authentic or natural space. Space is an attribute of people, the product of human and especially civil society; it is a term and concept we use, explicitly or implicitly, to talk about how we dwell in the world.¹ Cultures define, inhabit, understand, shape and regulate their worlds in ways that are historically and geographically varied, of course. Whatever the time or place, however, a culture’s sense of itself in space, of its boundaries and limits and activities and powers, has immediate consequences for everyday life as well as political, legal, religious and more abstract or philosophical implications.²

This collection grew out of an interdisciplinary and collaborative effort to study new forms of association (publics and counterpublics) that developed in early modern Europe and to address the theoretical and methodological challenges that such an inquiry would entail. The project was called “Making Publics: Media, Markets and Association in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700” (MaPs). In an earlier volume of essays, we defined our task in the following terms:

This [project] is about how concatenations of people, things, and forms of knowledge created “publics” in early modern Europe and how publics changed the shape of early modern society. Our focus is not exactly on the publics themselves but rather the phenomenon that we call “making publics”—the active creation of new forms of association that allowed people to connect with others in ways not rooted in family, rank, or vocation, but rather founded in voluntary groupings built on shared interests, tastes, commitments, and desires of individuals. By creating new forms of public association, cultural producers and consumers in effect challenged dominant ideas about just who could be a public person, greatly expanded the resources of public life for ordinary people in their own time, and developed ideas and practices that have helped to create the political culture of modernity.³

The processes of public making that we examined in this earlier volume were not abstractions or philosophical milestones—ideas emerging in the history of thought—but phenomenal developments, an ensemble of practices and experiences situated in a great many specific places. Among the publics we studied were those that developed in the *huiskerken* (Roman Catholic house churches) of Protestant Amsterdam, the salons of sixteenth-century France and the amphitheaters of Elizabethan London; in the book stalls of Italian cities, in English galleries where new forms of portraiture structured new kinds of visibility and even, to our initial surprise at the paradox, in private spaces devoted to reading.

What surprised us was not the fact that the written word, historical increases in literacy rates or the not-always-synchronous rise of print culture might have played a significant role in the formation of early modern civil society. The impact of changes in reading and writing practices on the social imaginaries of early modern Europe, the role of the printing press as an agent of social change—these have been well documented, discussed, analyzed and sometimes exaggerated in any number of forums and disciplines.⁴ Rather, we were intrigued by the realization that there was a paradoxical relationship between the private and the public in many of the social processes we had been studying. In Jürgen Habermas’s classic narrative of the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere, we recalled, a similar paradox had been described: the public sphere, Habermas claimed, first developed *within* the private and domestic spheres of everyday lives and economies.⁵ Private individuals came together as a public, in other words, in *virtual* public spaces as well as—and even, in some examples, before—coming together in physical or actual spaces. A great deal has been challenged and rejected in Habermas’s utopian (or mystified) account of a new, bourgeois public sphere that developed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. In the post-Habermasian understandings of the public sphere that have emerged from the critiques of social theorists such as Nancy Fraser, Craig Calhoun, Michael Warner, Geoff Eley, Bruno

Latour, Michael McKeon, Peter Lake, Steve Pincus and a great many others, “the public sphere” is more likely to be described as a heterogeneous and conflictual ensemble of social entities than as an egalitarian totality: a multiplicity of publics and counterpublics that produce and occupy, in turn, a multiplicity of social spaces where collective identity and voice can be created, discovered, asserted and exercised.⁶ Despite all that has been revised and corrected in Habermas’s work, however, his insights into this paradoxical relationship between the private and public have endured and remain essential to recent critical social theory and its understanding of the formation of publics or counterpublics. Such formations are social productions of space as well as collective identities: our surprise registered the discovery, to adapt Monsieur Jourdain’s proud exclamation, that in studying the making of publics, we had been speaking “space” all along.⁷

David Harvey has remarked that “space” is such a complex term and concept that it should have been included in Raymond Williams’s *Keywords*, his compact breviary for Western thought and ideologies.⁸ The fact that Williams overlooked such a significant keyword can be forgiven, however, since a number of the most influential twentieth-century theorists of space were also sometimes blind to their own insights in this regard. Michel Foucault was once slow to understand that the editors of *Hérodote* were praising the “astonishing spatial sensibility” of his work rather than criticizing his neglect of critical geography, their own emergent field.⁹ Habermas himself left a confusing and contradictory legacy in his thoughts about the spatiality of the social, on the one hand, and the sociality of space, on the other. His descriptions of the English coffeehouse and the French salon have captivated and inspired more than one generation of scholars; however, the intrinsic fascination of these emergent discursive sites has sometimes led to a reification of the “bourgeois public sphere,” a near equation between such concrete places of discourse and Habermas’s concept. Furthermore, as Brian Cowan argues in the present volume, both of these discursive sites have proven to be problematic examples when examined more closely. There is an unresolved ambivalence in Habermas’s frequent references to the spatial and its relation to the public that is apparent even in his own keywords. For example, he used explicitly spatial metaphors to describe the private, the domestic and the intimate “spheres” of early modern life—they were *Sphären* all—but studiously avoided the same readily available terms for the bourgeois “publicness” he called *Öffentlichkeit*. “Public sphere” is a mistranslation of the much more abstract *Öffentlichkeit*. It conveys a spatial sense that Habermas explicitly avoided in German—but then accepted and never corrected when English and French editions of his work translated *Öffentlichkeit* as “public sphere” and “*l’espace public*,” respectively.

The social production of space has been a prime focus of study for human geography, political ecology, certain forms of social and cultural anthropology and critical social theory. Henri Lefebvre’s *La Production de l’Espace*, first published in French in 1974 and translated into English as

The Production of Space in 1991, remains the most comprehensive effort to develop a theory about social space.¹⁰ Lefebvre's theory is dense, difficult, fascinating and immensely influential. He leverages the power of his own revisions of Marxist historical and social analysis to argue that absolute or Euclidean space, conceived as a neutral container or "blank canvas filled with human activity . . . cannot exist because, at the moment it is colonized through social activity, it becomes relativized and historicized space."¹¹ Social space, he argued, is produced by a three-way dialectic:

Insisting that every society and every mode of production produces its own space, he further distinguished between the abstract spaces of capitalism, the sacred spaces of the religious societies that preceded it, and the contradictory and differential spaces yet to come. In outlining this history of space, Lefebvre implied that conceiving and representing space as absolute (as had been common in geography and across the social sciences) was in fact implicated in the production of relativized abstract space (i.e., the space of capitalism). Rejecting this, he proposed a "trialectics" of spatiality, which explores the differential entwining of cultural practices, representations and imaginations. Moving away from an analysis of things in space, this is an account that sees space as "made up" through a three-way dialectic between perceived, conceived and lived space.¹²

Absolute space in the sense outlined above—space understood to be a pre-existing, homogenous, neutral and/or natural field—is sometimes referred to as Euclidean, Cartesian or Newtonian space, and with sound reasons. It accurately describes space as it exists in Euclidean geometry, Cartesian logic and Newtonian physics.¹³ Space becomes an entirely different concept, however, when it is associated with the social or the public. The sociality of space is difficult—if not impossible—to disentangle from the spatiality of the social.

As David Harvey once suggested, "the strength of the Lefebvrian construction . . . is precisely that it refuses to see materiality, representation and imagination as separate worlds."¹⁴ The authors of this volume were trained in a number of different disciplines and their chapters represent those differences as well as their common ground. What we share, sometimes implicitly and sometimes quite explicitly, is an interest in what is sometimes called the virtual dimensions of public space. If we return to the paradox of public space outlined above—how can it issue from the private?—we can begin to appreciate the sense of the virtual that develops, often overtly but on occasion beneath the surface, in a number of our chapters. Here, the virtual is not to be understood as the opposite of the real—its simulacrum, its always inadequate copy, something fantastical or imaginary—but rather as a crucial and necessary component of the real. This is what we might call a strong sense of the virtual, as

distinguished from something not quite or not yet real, as in, for example, the catchphrase of the digital age, “virtual reality.” A public requires and fosters a sense of collective identity and community that will always be greater than the sum of its parts.

This is why we conceive of a public or the public sphere not as a bounded space, but as a vortex of attention.¹⁵ In part, this is because publics are “always in principle open to strangers,” as Michael Warner and Craig Calhoun have stressed.¹⁶ Inclusiveness is not only a potential that publics must have, so that they should always be capable of including individuals who are not yet included, but also a constitutive aspect of them, the final term in Lefebvre and Harvey’s triad, their real virtuality. Publics differ from congregations, audiences or other kinds of focused gatherings because they must, by definition, include individuals who are “strangers”: individuals who are not currently included, physically or otherwise, because they must remain hypothetical, potential and unknown, except as strangers.¹⁷ In its ideal or utopian form, the public sphere would encompass “a virtual space that accommodated, and was indefinitely inclusive of, all actual individuals, the authority of whose private existence was the basis for claiming the authority of the new public.”¹⁸

By contrast, the post-Habermasian public sphere, understood as a partial, conflictual and heterogeneous ensemble of social entities, requires a multiplicity of publics and counterpublics; it occupies a multiplicity of virtual spaces where individual and collective identity and voice can be created, discovered and asserted. A private individual reading a book in a private room does not enter into the public sphere only when she closes the book and goes out to discuss it with others. She has already entered it in a crucial but never comprehensive sense, since the process is not yet completed and cannot by definition be completed. Publics are imagined communities, to adopt and expand Benedict Anderson’s rich concept, that are more or less concretely realized in physical or material spaces as well.¹⁹

The written and, especially, the printed word play a large and significant role in the development of the early modern public sphere, but the role of print culture as an agent of historical change can be exaggerated. As Steven Mullaney cautions us, “Viewing the early modern period too narrowly from the perspective of print can obscure other modes of discursive production.”²⁰ In his chapter, he notes that there were multiple media and forms of *publication*—making ideas and experiences accessible or public—in operation in early modernity, and some of these rivaled the printed word in their potential to prompt discussion, dissent and debate, and thus to generate new patterns of association. A notable feature of this volume is that it expands our understanding of the early modern public sphere beyond the transformative role of print media to consider forms of cultural production like speech and performance practices, scripts, letters and drawings, as well as diverse visual modes like painting, mapping, urban planning and architecture. The chapters by Mullaney, Paul Yachnin,

Rachel Willie and Kevin Pask, for instance, clarify the degree to which this was an age of embodied as well as mechanical reproduction, emphasizing that theatrical performance was a medium in its own right, distinct from a printed play text rather than subordinate to it. The contributions by Bronwen Wilson, Meredith Donaldson Clark, Angela Vanhaelen and Elena Napolitano explore the ways in which visual representations of spaces, making use of both their material and their imagined or virtual aspects, generated new understandings, debates and even conflicts about the spaces they pictured. The wide range of cases examined in this volume demonstrates the rich inventiveness and formative social power of artistic as well as intellectual publication. Such forms of publicity, we argue, allowed people to connect with others in ways not predetermined by the social, political and religious hierarchies that traditionally structured public life. By creating these new forms of association, cultural producers and consumers thus challenged dominant ideas about just who could enter the public arena, greatly expanding both the real and imaginary spaces of public life to include hitherto excluded groups of private people.

The spatiality of the social is important, but so is the sociality of the spatial. Hannah Arendt provides an evocative model for thinking about the social relations between embodied places and persons.²¹ Arendt does not idealize or mystify the public sphere, as Habermas tended to do. Instead, she argues that public life occurs in the space between people—*inter homines esse*—in performative practices of public speech and action.²² It is in this space that people connect with each other to discuss and debate their common concerns. The in-between space is also a space of material things, for while performance is ephemeral and momentary, it is made durable and lasting by human-made things. “To live together in the world means essentially that a world of things is between those who have it in common.”²³ Such a common world of things is independent of human makers and can exceed mortal human life, outlasting the fleeting actions of human participants. The various media and forms of publicity that our chapters analyze have the power to express and publicize speech and action, to bring them into public view and thus to create a world. Interest (*inter esse*) in this common world potentially binds people together, spurring interconnected action.²⁴ As Wilson demonstrates in her chapter, the increased mobility and circulation of material things and forms of publicity in the early modern period played a central and often overlooked role in stimulating the rapid expansion of public life.²⁵ The world of things, occupying the space between people and enabling extended interconnections, opens up multiple available perspectives. *Inter esse* space is transformative: contingent rather than determined, it too can be an agent in the creation of public worlds, selves and communities.

The in-between space is not to be mistaken as a space of conformity, however. Arendt emphasizes that the same thing can be seen—indeed, must be seen—from multiple perspectives.²⁶ In this way, the space between people

is a space of plurality: it does not bring people into conformity but is generated by diversity. Latour also insists on this point. Things have the power to gather people together, in a virtual as well as an actual sense, around contested matters or divisive issues that concern a large number of people and can be (or should be) debated in public. What brings people together, somewhat paradoxically, is often what divides them. Indeed, as Latour remarks, a public forms when people are “so divided . . . that we have to assemble.”²⁷ Shared interest in a common world of things can simultaneously bind people together and separate them from each other. In sharing the same space, people are divided as well as united by the same concerns.

Latour notes that the public sphere has often been conceived in terms of successive, linear and ultimately teleological time, so that participation in it involves the progressive elimination of irrationality, differences, contradictions and dissenting voices. According to such a model, people will eventually come to a common understanding. When space replaces time as the main ordering principle, however, public life takes place in a kind of simultaneous time, in which incompatible elements are not progressively smoothed out but instead occupy the same space, a space where we are productively confronted with our manifold differences.²⁸ As Lefebvre notes in his rich account of the contradictions of social space, “a new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences.”²⁹

It is crucial to imagine a public space that connects people who are different from each other, who do not personally know each other and who do not come into the public arena with set identities or agendas. As Arendt argues, identities are formed and reformed through the processes of speaking and acting publicly. Summarizing these views, Craig Calhoun concludes that “it is in public that we come fully into ourselves, that we achieve a fullness of personality, that we disclose our personal identities.”³⁰ In this manner, we can only fully come into ourselves in and through the fraught processes of dialogue with strangers, of sharing a space with those who may not share our views.

* * *

The chapters of this volume explore a wide range of cultural and intellectual forms and activities in the period. They are focused and historical case studies, but they also combine close concern with the historical conditions of early modern cultural production and a nuanced engagement with recent critical social theory and current debates in the humanities. Collectively, the chapters focus on early modern theater performances, on travel, migration and motion, on practices of persuasion, on the embodied experiences of lived space and on the central importance of media and material things in the creation of publics and public spaces. The chapters embody a wide range of disciplinary and methodological approaches, representing our own differences as well as our shared concerns: a heterogeneity of perspectives

that grew out of the Making Publics project and its efforts to write histories that are fully informed by modern cultural theory. We have resisted a disciplinary grouping of the chapters and have instead organized them around some of the shared questions that emerged in our collaborative interaction, hoping that this will allow readers to make their own connections between chapters more easily, whether within or across the different sections. Taken together, the book's three sections provide diverse examples of the ways in which early modern people came together in actual and virtual space to generate new affiliations and identities in new, or newly-made-public, social spaces.

The chapters in the first section, *Performative Spatial Practices*, open the volume by reassessing familiar characterizations of the public sphere in order to clarify our own understanding of the making of public space as a series of incomplete and open-ended performative practices. Steven Mullaney takes up a public space that does not figure largely in Habermas's narrative about the emergence of a bourgeois public sphere—the theater. Mullaney argues that Habermas's conception of the new public sphere tacitly depends on theatrical modes of thought and theatrical structures of epistemology. Habermas's still-compelling account of “audience-oriented subjectivity,” Mullaney argues, is grounded in an inherently theatrical dialectic whose intersubjective publicness, abstract and figurative in the example of print and print publication, was realized, at once embodied and enacted, in early modern playhouses. In contrast to Mullaney, Brian Cowan focuses on two spaces that do figure prominently for Habermas and in many subsequent accounts of the transformation of the public sphere: the English coffeehouse and the French salon. Cowan critically reviews recent literature and concludes that the characterization of these spaces in terms of a normative public sphere is no longer tenable. He importantly shifts the focus to what he calls the practical public sphere—the messy everyday practices and lived experiences of early modern public life. Rachel Willie's chapter provides a case study that resonates closely with the insights of Mullaney and Cowan. Like Mullaney, Willie is attentive to the distinction between printed and performed plays, and her assessment accords with Cowan's suggestion that the actual practices of public making give the lie to the myth of a stable and normative public sphere. Willie assesses the printed play pamphlets that replaced, in a sense, plays that could no longer be performed after the theaters were closed during the English Interregnum. She argues that these constituted a new medium, in many ways different from plays printed in other cultural contexts, which she calls the “paper stage.” By demonstrating that the paper stage was both a material and a metaphorical public space, Willie argues that it created a forum that both Royalists and Parliamentarians could variously inhabit to consider current affairs. The paper stage was an innovative public venue, and Willie concludes that it operated as a form of homesickness for a unified public sphere that never existed. Margaret Greer's chapter expands on the insights

of these chapters by contrasting Spanish theater practices to English and French examples. While the Spanish stage also sparked public discussion and so defined civic space and community affiliations, it concurrently maintained strong ties to traditional religious practices, and had a significant new global spatial dimension as it developed in tandem with conquest in the Americas. Greer's chapter traces the development of Spanish drama in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while both drawing on and reevaluating Lefebvre's important conception of space as flexible, biomorphic and diverse. She suggestively concludes that although Spain's vibrant theatrical traditions created a space of public opinion, the economic and political consequences of global empire kept it from having the liberalizing effect it may have worked in other European countries such as England.

The performative potential and global dimensions of public space are themes that also run through the second section of the book, *Spaces between: Transforming Journeys and Geographies*. Bronwen Wilson takes up the distinctive genre of the *isolario*, a compendium of maps and texts, of histories and myths, of the islands of the Mediterranean. The *isolario* is a microcosm of an in-between space that is a part of, but also apart from, Europe. It offers its diverse readers vicarious travel to a geographic reality that is physical as well as abstract or utopic. Wilson argues that *isolarii* were exemplary public-making spaces: the genre disseminated information that was not controlled by traditional authorities in a format that solicited invention and thinking about issues that cut across geographical boundaries. Meredith Donaldson Clark's chapter also attends to the expanding image of the world in its examination of the publication and influence of the ancient Peutinger map. Like the *isolario*, this printed map makes historical space public. In so doing, it provides an ancient model, which John Ogilby's later strip map atlas, *Britannia*, attempted to surpass by asserting the triumph of modern measurement and industry. The circumstances leading to the publication of both the facsimile and the atlas provide a concrete illustration of public making: both were made possible through public interest in and the transmission of different cartographic forms, all the while treading a fine line between public participation and monarchical approbation. Elena Napolitano takes up the official construction of the public space of a nation-state centered on a monarch in her chapter, which examines a printed French cityscape of Rome. This innovative printed image highlights the presence of French sovereign power within the Papal city, and Napolitano's close reading of the image reveals how two public authorities—the Papacy and the French monarchy—vied to assert their sovereignty over the same territory, the Pincian Hill, exposing the very fraught nature of key public sites in Rome. Drawing on the theories of Michel de Certeau and Louis Marin, Napolitano argues that the Pincian Hill was a frontier, an uncertain in-between space or no-man's-land. Her chapter reveals that there was no single unified political public in the early modern city, as various authorities deployed visual representations in a contest to

establish their sovereign power over diverse publics and their divergent uses and understandings of urban space.

Marlene Eberhart's chapter examines the spaces between people from a different perspective, arguing for the mediating force of the human senses in the apprehension and creation of social space. Interrogating the Habermasian notion of rational-critical public space, Eberhart reviews recent literature on early modern Venice in order to assess the significance of sensual space in public life. She suggestively argues that early modern public life was oriented to the body and its myriad ways of knowing. The final chapter in this section, by Kevin Pask, draws together many of the themes of the volume's first two sections. Pask explores the formation of a self-conscious London literary public associated with the new cultural spaces of town and country in the seventeenth century. This public, Pask argues, voices itself in the spaces between literary works. These new spaces were quotidian and geographic in their nature, and lent themselves to new forms of cultural cartography. Pask argues that the new literary public did not simply reflect a new social geography; it was actively engaged in constructing it and reflecting upon it as well. While older forms of court culture remained important, the chapter emphasizes the spatial processes through which a new public became increasingly independent of the court and the traditional culture of the City of London. Together, the chapters in this section highlight a historically distinctive aspect of early modern publics: they were mobile networks of interrelations that formed beyond and at times in opposition to or in the gaps of an older, established public sphere ordered by the social rankings and hierarchies imposed by sovereign powers.

The final section in the collection, *The Potential of the Private*, takes up this issue by exploring the increased participation of private people in public life, which defines the new forms of public making that emerged in early modernity. Torrance Kirby assesses the writings of John Calvin and argues that the reformer's account of twofold government contributes to a radical rethinking of the relationship between private and public space. Calvin makes an essential demarcation between the inner, subjective forum of the individual believer and the external, public forum of ecclesial and political institutional governance. He repeatedly exhorts that the gap between these two *fora* must be mediated by persuasion—argument, textual interpretation, exhortation, reasoned opinion and moral advice that was disseminated especially through pulpit and press. Angela Vanhaelen's chapter explores seventeenth-century understandings of Calvin's two *fora* by looking at a fascinating subgenre of Dutch art—paintings of congregations attending Calvinist sermons. These sermon paintings, she argues, picture the culture of persuasion; in so doing, they grapple with Calvinist understandings of the private subject as both self-governing and as governed by the authority of church and state. Like Kirby, she concludes that the Calvinist church was a significant precursor of the modern, secular public sphere.

The final two chapters, by Meredith Evans and Paul Yachnin, explore how two important early modern thinkers—Margaret Cavendish and William Shakespeare—negotiated their own public privation in order to imagine a new place for private people in public life. Evans argues that Cavendish's *Blazing World* questions the viability of the growing distinction between private and public, especially the insularity of gendered social spaces and, above all, the philosophical precepts that underpinned this insularity. By drawing on Spinoza's theories of a virtual, unbounded space that subsumes things otherwise distinct, Cavendish challenged the basis of the new collective formations of her day. Yachnin's chapter fittingly concludes the volume. Arguing that the theater created by Shakespeare and his fellows fostered a new kind of critical public space that advanced the social and political agency of private people, Yachnin shows how the right of the private person to public recognition emerged in a context of performative play. He argues that early modern people did not achieve a public sphere that was open and inclusive of all, but that they did begin to imagine this ideal and thus changed the world in ways that they could not anticipate.

As Arendt once suggested, the full meaning of historical actions and processes can never be grasped at the moment that they are initiated but only later, by the "backward glance" of the historian.³¹ Taking up this task and responsibility, we argue—sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly—that the ways in which the world changed in the early modern period have continuing significance for us today. Those changes eventually produced us, but more importantly, they matter to us because the actions and performative practices of the past are not completed until we grasp them and tell their story. This is not a postmodern condition but (turning to Arendt again) the human condition. We have it in common with the people—common and notable, private and public—we study here, who interrogated their own pasts and in this fashion grappled with their own potential to make and remake their worlds.

NOTES

1. "Dwell" is intended to evoke Heidegger's sense of dwelling; see Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," trans. A. Hofstadter, in *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings*, ed. D.F. Krell, revised and expanded ed. (London: Routledge, 1993), 217–265.
2. To say that the public and the publicness of space are socially constructed concepts, in other words, is not to say that they are unimportant, any less consequential in our lives or even less *real* than they might otherwise be. On the contrary, it means that they are all the more important, even critical, as aspects of our collective and individual identities, with ramifications in political, economic, ethical, cultural, ethnic, religious and other forms of social life. Social constructions are the *product* of collective life, whether they are produced by a dominant ideology or other, more broadly participatory means. They are also part of the *process* of collective life, forms of collective thought in and of themselves.

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3. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, introduction to *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1. The work of the Making Publics team is also featured in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio series *Ideas*, produced by David Cayley; the fourteen episodes of “The Origins of the Modern Public” can be listened to here: <http://www.cbc.ca/ideas/episodes/features/2010/04/26/the-origins-of-the-modern-public/>
4. See Kevin Pask’s chapter in this volume for a discussion of the rise of a literary public. The literature on the rise of print culture is vast; Elizabeth’s Eisenstein’s influential study, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Social Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), has been criticized in subsequent studies for making an overly strong equation between new media and change. A more nuanced view is presented in the many publications of Rogier Chartier. See, for instance, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
5. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 50. For a fuller discussion, see the chapters by Steven Mullaney, Paul Yachnin and Meredith Evans in this volume. Calvinist understandings of relations between an inner private space and an outer public realm are explored in the chapters by Torrance Kirby and Angela Vanhaelen. See also Wilson and Yachnin, *Making Publics*, esp. 11–12; and Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, eds., *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
6. See the important volume of essays *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); “New Imaginaries,” a special issue of the journal *Public Culture*, vol. 14, no. 1, issue 36 (Winter 2002), ed. Benjamin Lee and Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar; Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002); Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, eds., *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy* (Karlsruhe: ZKM Centre for Art and Media with MIT Press, 2002); Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, “Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England,” *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006): 270–292.
7. This is in reference to Monsieur Jourdain’s famous line in Act 2, Scene 4 of Molière’s play *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* of 1670, in which he is proud to discover he has been speaking prose all his life.
8. See David Harvey, “Space as a Key Word,” in *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* (London: Verso 2006), 119–148.
9. Michel Foucault, “Questions on Geography,” in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 76–77.
10. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).
11. Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine, editors’ introduction to *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, eds. Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine (London: Sage Publications, 2007), 4–5.

12. Ibid., 5. Lefebvre's trialectics of spatiality runs through *The Production of Space* and is summarized on p. 33. See also Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996), esp. 26–82.
13. See Lefebvre's discussion of this in *The Production of Space*, 1–2. It might be tempting to refer to Lefebvre's produced and irreducibly social space as something like Einsteinian space, but the analogy to quantum mechanics would be misleading.
14. David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again," in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. John Bird et al. (London: Routledge, 1993), 23.
15. This idea is discussed in Episode 14 of "The Origins of the Modern Public."
16. Craig Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 152. See Michael Warner's important essay "Publics and Counterpublics," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4 (2002): 413–425.
17. For the concept of the "stranger" in this sense, see Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity," and Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics."
18. Michael McKeon, "What Was an Early Modern Public and How Was It Made?" *History Compass* 10, no. 9 (2012): 714. This article appears in a special issue of the journal, edited by Brian Cowan and Leigh Yetter, devoted to the topic "Publicity and Privacy in the Early Modern World." The issue is an interdisciplinary exchange between various scholars, including members of MaPs, and McKeon, focused on the latter's magisterial *The Secret History of Domesticity*.
As Paul Yachnin reminds us in his chapter, inclusiveness always remains an ideal rather than an actual state of affairs. Participation in public life has always been more accessible to members of dominant social groups; to be marginalized is to be denied decision-making agency. Meredith Evans makes a similar point in her chapter, which demonstrates how Margaret Cavendish challenged the ways the early modern division of the world into private and public zones served to relegate women to the space of the home.
19. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
20. Steven Mullaney, this volume, Chapter 1. For a foundational argument about manuscript or scribal publication, see Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).
21. In Euclidean geometry, "space" and "place" are easily distinguished terms and entities: the one is a blank field or empty container, the other what it holds or contains. Modern and postmodern spatial theory tends to treat the two terms as a relationship rather than a difference, or as gradations along a continuum rather than a pair of opposed or distinct terms. Although there remains little explicit consensus in fields like geography, the relation has been described in terms of scale—of degrees of specificity, embodiment and contingency. See Nigel Smith, "Scale," in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, ed. R. J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, and Michael Watts (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 724–727. For a broad range of differences and nuances, see the entries in Hubbard, Kitchin and Valentine, *Key Thinkers*.
22. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 7–8.
23. Ibid., 52.

24. In many ways, Arendt anticipated the work of influential theorists like Nigel Thrift and Bruno Latour who have emphasized the ways in which space and place are constantly reconstituted by “actor networks.” See Nigel Thrift, “Performing Cultures in the New Economy,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 4 (2000): 674–692; and Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
25. See also Wilson and Yachnin, *Making Publics*, 4.
26. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 57–58.
27. Latour, “From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik—or How to Make Things Public,” in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, 24.
28. As Latour puts it: “You have to cohabit even with those monsters, because don’t indulge yourself in the naïve belief that they will soon fade away; space is the series of simultaneities, all of that has to be taken into account *at once*” (ibid., 40).
29. Lefebvre distinguishes social space from abstract or Cartesian space in related terms: the latter “tends towards homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities” (*The Production of Space*, 52).
30. Craig Calhoun, “Plurality, Promises, and Public Spaces,” in *Hannah Arendt and the Meaning of Politics*, ed. Craig Calhoun and J. McGowan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 237.
31. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 191–192.

Part I

Performative Spatial Practices

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1 What's Hamlet to Habermas?

Spatial Literacy, Theatrical Publication and the Publics of the Early Modern Public Stage

Steven Mullaney

Did theater contribute to the formation of an early modern public sphere?

According to Jürgen Habermas, the answer is “no.” Of course, the classic or “bourgeois” public sphere that Habermas imagined in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*¹ was not an early modern phenomenon; according to Habermas, its earliest manifestation was in late seventeenth-century England, well after the early modern period in its customary sense was over. But if we put the same question to Habermas’s eighteenth-century public sphere—did theater contribute to it?—the answer would be only slightly different: “very little, and very late.” The public sphere as understood by Habermas was fostered and strengthened by a number of social and cultural and economic developments—the appearance (at long last) of an actually existing bourgeoisie, coffeehouses, lending libraries and a host of new forms of print media that included gazettes, journals, newspapers and, significantly, the early novel. Analogous developments would take place only slightly later in much of the rest of Europe. Theater did not participate in the resulting “bourgeois” public sphere, however, until well into the eighteenth century—not until the drama of Congreve and Beaumarchais. And it was not merely a late arrival. Earlier instantiations of theater, including the amphitheater playhouses of Elizabethan London, were in fact (according to Habermas) among the forces that retarded the emergence of a “bourgeois” public sphere. For Habermas, early modern theater was most retrograde in relation to that emergence. It was entirely contained by the early modern *res publica*, and it served (in the strong sense of the word) to maintain and promulgate the “representative publicity” of rank and degree that characterized the early modern princely state. State and church together defined and largely controlled most forms and forums of publicness in the early modern period, and it was their hegemony that had to be displaced or weakened or opened out from within before a classic Habermasian public sphere would be possible. The theater of Kyd and Marlowe and Shakespeare was one of the forms of “representative publicity” that would have to be cleared away and replaced by new and radically reformed modes of theatrical performance.

It would be easy to dismiss such a view, based as it seems to have been on a fundamental misunderstanding of Elizabethan popular drama and the place it occupied in the social imaginary of its times. In terms of theatrical and performance history, there can be little doubt that Habermas simply had his facts wrong on some important points. For example, he assumed that leading figures of the aristocracy and even monarchs visited performances at the Globe and sat in prominent and framed view of the rest of the audience. Noting that the general populace “had been admitted” to theaters “as far back as the seventeenth century” in certain instances such as the Globe and the *Comédie-Française*, he argued that the presence of the lower-rank “public” at theatrical performances did not mean that early modern theater had begun to be open to new forms of publicity or conducive to the emergence of any kind of public sphere (38). The populace was present only to serve the “ranks” or aristocracy, who were on view in the gallery for all to see and cheer:

They [the Globe and the *Comédie*] were all still part of a different type of publicity in which the “ranks” (preserved still as a dysfunctional architectural relic in our theater buildings) paraded themselves, and the people applauded. (38)

Insofar as the Globe is concerned, this is of course a historical fantasy. Neither the monarch nor the aristocracy was on display or applauded at the Globe. The “ranks” had not admitted the public or allowed the people in to admire or applaud them; this playhouse, like all of London’s amphitheatres and most of its indoor playing spaces, was open to anyone who could afford admission. Furthermore, the reference to “the ranks” on view in the gallery seems to describe something like a box at the opera: an anachronistic projection of a much later architecture of privilege that would indeed, when it emerged, constitute ostentatious spaces of display. But the “ranks” viewed and admired in the opera house were members of the moneyed and propertied classes, such as the newly risen bourgeoisie, as well as aristocracy and royalty.

Nonetheless, despite such doubtful theatrical history, there is something to be learned from Habermas about theater and publics. A number of contemporary historians, sociologists and social theorists would say similar things about Habermas’s relation to their own disciplines,² even if they largely reject his historical account of the emergence of a “bourgeois public sphere” in late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Europe. Over the past five years, the interdisciplinary team of scholars, graduate research associates and other individuals and institutions that have been involved in “Making Publics: Media, Markets, and Associations in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700” (MaPs) has regularly rediscovered this lesson: forgetting Habermas is hard to do, and not always advisable. In the MaPs project, our endeavor has been to develop alternative—and less teleological—understandings of

the ways in which “private people come together to form a public” (Habermas, 25), so that we could examine a variety of different historical periods and diverse cultural and social and political contexts. We have explored the ways in which publics and counterpublics, understood to be always partial and often conflictual forms of association, come into being, and how such associations—heterogeneous, episodic and as much conceptual or virtual as they are actual—contribute to broader social formations.³ When we refer to those broader formations as a “public sphere” or “spheres,” our usage is a register of difference—we mean something quite distinct from Habermas—and an acknowledgement of debt as well. “The public sphere,” as Craig Calhoun has defined it in this, its post-Habermasian sense, “comprises an indefinite number of more or less overlapping publics, some ephemeral, some enduring, and some shaped by struggle against the dominant organization of others.”⁴

Habermas remains especially compelling in his understanding of the dynamic and inherently paradoxical relationships that can develop between the public and the private dimensions of the social.⁵ He understood theater, however, as a cultural form more or less fixed in its publicness and even trapped by what he refers to as “representation” (see especially his discussion on 8–14). For Habermas, theater was an inherently mimetic or reflective or representational phenomenon, in its spatial as well as its social production; it was opposed to the dialectical or dynamic or processual engagement of private people necessary for a public sphere to emerge. Some of these are my terms, but I have derived them from Habermas’s own delineation of the ways in which cultural or aesthetic or literary media played a role in the formation of the “bourgeois” public sphere (see 1–56). The first or mimetic mode of publicity, exemplified by theater in general and Elizabethan theater in particular, was a negative force: theater hindered the emergence of a public sphere by enhancing and contributing to the “representative publicity” of the princely *res publica*. The second or dialectical mode, exemplified by the emergent novel, was a positive force. And yet, as I hope to show, theatrical performance played a more significant role in Habermas’s own thinking than his explicit comments might suggest—just as it did in a great many historical civil societies.

My larger goal is to recover a sense of the early modern playhouse as a significant forum for social thought in its own day and age. The plays it produced were rich in information and ideas, but even more importantly, the production or performance of those plays was in itself a kind of social thinking, experiential and affective as well as cognitive, collective as well as individual.⁶ Properly understood, theatrical performance acted as a significant mode of discursive and nondiscursive production in the early modern period: performance was (and is) a form of “publication,” and as such, a potential catalyst for the making of various publics and counterpublics.

Early in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas interrupts a dense, abstract and preliminary discussion of the “representative publicity” of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with a subsection entitled “Excursus: The Demise of the Representative Publicness Illustrated by the Case of Wilhelm Meister” (12–14). It is an odd moment for an unnecessary anecdote or digression, the customary meaning of “excursus” (in the German, *Excurs* [22]), especially one like this: it interrupts a historical overview of the politics of the late medieval and early modern *res publica* and transports us to a late eighteenth-century novel (1795) by Johan Wolfgang von Goethe. Immediately after this brief *explication de texte romantique*, we return to the seventeenth century where Habermas continues his interrupted explanation of earlier forms of publicity, chronicling the economic, cultural, political and other developments that would eventually give rise to the “bourgeois” public sphere.

But Goethe is not a digression, even if the literary turn seems odd or out of place at first. Like Freud finding a literary habitation and a name for the Oedipal complex in Sophocles, or Foucault using Cervantes and Velasquez to think his way into *The Order of Things*, Habermas looks to an aesthetic object for insight into his own sociological and historical hypotheses.⁷ In Habermas’s hands, Goethe’s novel becomes a *bildungsroman* for an entire historical *episteme*, a parable of the public sphere and its relation to different forms of public and popular art. In the novel, Wilhelm Meister rejects the bourgeois world of business and politics for a career as an actor. He joins a company of traveling players, where he hopes to establish himself as a kind of “public person” (in Goethe’s phrase) by representing on stage the one class of individuals for whom “seeming” and “being” had always been one and the same: the aristocracy. He eventually rises to the top of his acting troupe, and as a reward is given the role of the prince of all princes, Hamlet the Dane.

For the aristocracy and the society they governed, as Habermas explains via Goethe, authenticity and authority were real “inasmuch as [they were] made present.”

The nobleman was what he represented; the bourgeois, what he produced: “If the nobleman [as Wilhelm writes in a letter to his brother-in-law], merely by his personal carriage, offers all that can be asked of him, the burgher by his personal carriage offers nothing; and can offer nothing. The former has a right to *seem*; the latter is compelled to *be*, and what he aims at seeming becomes ludicrous and tasteless. (13)

What the aristocracy made real by representing as such, in its own figure and presence and rites of display, was nothing less than the “representative publicness” of the princely state. It displayed a form of power produced (in part) by its own manifestation, an understanding of early modern power we have encountered in a host of later theorists, including those new historicists

who laid special emphasis on the kinship between such state or princely power and the theater.⁸ Goethe and Habermas would seem to agree. What Wilhelm sought on stage was a surrogate for such already archaic publicity. And since he relied on the “secret equivocation”—Goethe’s phrase—that theatrical performance shares with actual public representation, his enterprise seemed to be successful, at least for a short period of time.

What’s Hamlet to Habermas? He’s a sixteenth-century dramatic character played by a misguided late eighteenth-century novelistic character. He is also the emblematic representative of an anachronistic conjunction of theater and civil society: insofar as the public sphere is concerned, he is a mistake, a digression, a false lure. He is what keeps Wilhelm from assuming his proper place in the by-then fully formed bourgeois public sphere:

Wilhelm came before his public as Hamlet, successfully at first. The public, however, was already the carrier of a different public sphere, one that no longer had anything in common with that of representation. In this sense Wilhelm Meister’s theatrical mission had to fail. It was out of step, as it were, with the bourgeois public sphere whose platform the theatre had meanwhile become. Beaumarchais’s Figaro had already entered the stage and along with him, according to Napoleon’s famous words, the revolution. (14)

What is it that makes Figaro an agent in the formation of something we might call a theatrical public—or even, in this instance, a theatrical counterpublic (*Vive la révolution!*)—while Hamlet, even when performed two hundred years after his conception at the Globe, cannot escape the representative publicity of the early modern *res publica*? Habermas’s answer is a complex one, involving as it does an extensive account of significant historical transformations of both the theatrical apparatus of European popular drama and the subjectivity of those private individuals who formed its audiences. A key component in such historical changes can be identified quite economically, however. What separates these two modes of theatrical production—Hamlet from Figaro, Shakespeare from Beaumarchais—is the emergence of the novel.

Habermas’s attention to the role played by literary and dramatic modes in the formation, transformation and maintenance of different historical regimes of publicity is noteworthy, and should be of interest to any post-Habermasian study of the relation of the individual to the social, the private to the public and especially that paradoxical emergence of the public from within the private or domestic sphere that grounds all of Habermas’s thinking about the development of civil society from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The turn to literary or dramatic and other performative forms, as in the “excursus” on *Wilhelm Meister*, is neither a whim nor a moment of mere illustration. Literature is not reflecting social changes that are happening elsewhere. Rather, it is the phenomenology of *reading*

a novel that is Habermas's central concern: the actual, ongoing, cognitive and affective experience of the reader:

Especially Sterne, of course, refined the role of the narrator through the use of reflections by directly addressing the reader, almost by stage directions; he mounted the novel once more for a public that this time was included in it, not for the purpose of creating distance [*Verfremdung*] but to place a final veil over the difference between reality and illusion. The reality as illusion that the new genre created received its proper name in English, "fiction": it shed the character of the *merely* fictitious. The psychological novel fashioned for the first time the kind of realism that allowed anyone to enter into the literary action as a substitute for his own, to use the relationship between the figures, between the author, the characters, and the reader as substitute relationships for reality. The contemporary drama too became fiction [in German, "*fiction*"] no differently than the novel through the introduction of the "fourth wall." (50)

Importing the English word and spelling, Habermas makes "fiction" do extra work as a critical concept: it is the name for a new "kind of realism," one which does not, surprisingly, have anything in common with representation. "Fiction" at first sounds as if it entails a naturalistic verisimilitude, but its psychology is transactional and it includes Sterne as well as Defoe or Fielding. Habermas regularly stresses the metacritical aspects of a novel like *Tristram Shandy*, and it is a metacritical inclusion of the reader that ultimately defines his phenomenology of reading "fiction."

When Habermas discusses the rise of the middle class, the increasing hegemony of print, the establishment of new discursive spaces in the civic topography such as coffeehouses, salons and public libraries or most of the other historical developments associated with the emergence of the "bourgeois" public sphere, it is often impossible to determine whether he is identifying a cause or an effect, an agent in or a symptom of the social transformation he has in mind. Common to all of these developments, however, was a change that took place in the subjectivity of private individuals. A new kind of subjectivity began to develop: first in the intimate sphere of the conjugal family, where the private yet social interactions of lived and everyday life took place, and afterwards in a host of other experiences which contributed to the production of this new or emergent subjectivity:

The sphere of the public arose in the broader strata of the bourgeoisie as an expansion and at the same time a completion of the intimate sphere of the conjugal family. Living room and *salon* were under the same roof; and just as the privacy of the one was oriented toward the public nature of the other, and as the subjectivity of the privatized individual was related from the very start to publicity, so both were conjoined in literature that had become "fiction." On the one hand,

the empathetic reader repeated within himself the private relationships displayed before him in literature; from his experience of real familiarity [*Intimität*], he gave life to the fictional one, and in the latter he prepared himself for the former. On the other hand, from the outset the familiarity [*Intimität*] whose vehicle was the written word, the subjectivity that had become fit to print, had in fact become the literature appealing to a wide public of readers. The privatized individuals coming together to form a public also reflected critically and in public on what they had read, thus contributing to the process of enlightenment which they together promoted. (50–51)

We have moved beyond “reading” in the everyday sense of the word. In the passage above, reading a novel is not a strictly private activity but rather a dynamic, social, yet imaginary transaction or dialectic of empathy. Reading “fiction” involves a great many literacies—social, emotional, ideological and so on—beyond the linguistic or the aesthetic, and it does not take place only in the aesthetic space between the reader and the text. It begins outside that literary relation, in the intimate sphere of family interactions, and it continues to circulate recursively between private and public realms, actual and virtual relations, feelings and ideas. Fiction emerges within the lived self; lived relations “give life” to fictional ones. “Reading” is a name for a paradoxical reflexivity which can also be observed elsewhere,⁹ such as in the proximate spaces of the living room and the salon: “just as the privacy of the one was oriented toward the public nature of the other, and as the subjectivity of the privatized individual was related from the very start to publicity,” so were private and public, imagined and lived, virtual and actual relations conjoined in the novel as a dialectical experience.

I’ll reserve judgment on the question of whether a historical transformation of human subjectivity, unabashedly Hegelian in Habermas’s account, might in fact have taken place in the course of the long eighteenth century. First, it is important to note that his detailed and compelling account of the phenomenology of reading imaginative “fiction” is presented as something less than a cause but more than a mere example of the emergence of the public within the domestic or private sphere. Individual and collective subjectivities were also being produced elsewhere, in the social and spatial architecture of the salon and coffeehouse as well as in the study or other places of reading and writing:

The same Madame de Staël who in her house cultivated to excess that social game in which after dinner everyone withdrew to write letters to one another became aware that the persons themselves became *sujets de fiction* for themselves and the others. (50)¹⁰

This public-making proliferation of *sujets* was not caused by the novel, or at least not by the novel alone. It is in his more extended consideration of

reading fiction, however, that Habermas most extensively clarifies the process by which *sujets de fiction* are brought into self-consciousness, to a stage where they become aware of themselves as both subjects and objects of apprehension. As we have seen, this process is a dynamic, intersubjective transaction between virtual and actual subjects. Wherever it takes place, in the salon or the study or even, eventually, in the theater, this *sujets*-producing dialectic is a lived, experiential phenomenon. It happens in everyday life: it is an actual experience of a community in the process of its own imagining. Reading novels took place in, and also helped to create, a new kind of social and psychological and experiential space, which then served as a kind of practice field for the development of what Habermas calls an “audience-oriented subjectivity.” In his terms, reading provided “a training ground”

for a critical public reflection still preoccupied with itself—a process of self-clarification of private people focusing on the genuine experience of their novel privateness . . . [and] sparked by the products of culture that had become publicly accessible: in the reading room and the theater, in museums and at concerts. Inasmuch as culture became a commodity, and thus finally evolved into “culture” in the specific sense (as something that pretended to exist merely for its own sake), it was claimed as the ready topic of a discussion through which an audience-oriented [*publikumsbezogen*] subjectivity communicated with itself. (29)

An audience-oriented subjectivity, communicating with itself—but in the theater, where an actual audience would be involved, able to do so only late in the historical process and only after a significant reformation of the theatrical experience itself.

Before its own audience could become audience-oriented, complexly self-conscious of its private and public dimensions, theater had to be taken to school by the novel. It freed itself from representative publicity only when it acquired a new social and experiential architecture:

The psychological novel fashioned for the first time the kind of realism that allowed anyone to enter into the literary action as a substitute for his own, to use the relationship between the figures, between the author, the characters, and the reader as substitute relationships for reality. The contemporary drama too became fiction [*“fiction”*] no differently than the novel through the introduction of the “fourth wall.” (50)

Drama had to become a kind of enacted and embodied novel, establishing a new and quasi-readerly relationship with its now comfortably distanced audience. The theatrical audience is thus recast as a collection of private *readers*. The fourth wall, according to Habermas, altered both the theatrical apparatus of live performance and the social consequences of seeing and hearing a play in this “novel” mode. It rescued theater from itself.

This is as unfair to the proscenium stage as it is to earlier modes of performance. However, it is a fairly accurate overview of the way Habermas thought about theater—or rather, of the way that he *thought* he thought about theater and its capacity to contribute to the bourgeois public sphere. There is more to his phenomenology of *fiction*, however, than fits within this explicitly antitheatrical philosophy. What interests me here is the degree to which Habermas seems to have been incapable of thinking about novels and empathetic readers without recourse to the language of the stage, even when his express purpose was to differentiate the phenomenology of reading from the phenomenology of performance. Richardson weeps along with his readers, for example, over the “actors” in his novels (50), and his plots “came to occupy center stage” (49) despite the author’s intentions. Sterne “refined the role of the narrator . . . by directly addressing the reader, *almost* by stage directions” (50, emphasis mine). It’s the language—and a lot more. Habermas explicitly argues that theater could contribute to the public sphere only after it had denatured itself and become *less* theatrical, placing itself under the tutelage of prose fiction. What Sterne and Richardson and other novelists produced, however, was “an audience-oriented subjectivity”: a prosaic version of something derived, it would seem, from the spatialized dynamics of theatrical performance itself. The empathetic reader repeats within himself or herself the private relationships “displayed before him” in a novel:¹¹ the “subjectivity that was fit to print” emerges not from the page but from an intersubjective transaction between actual and virtual relations, feelings and selves. Between reader and fictive character, scene and story, a fully recursive dialectic restructures the relations of subject to object, private to public, active to passive, embodied to imagined. Each is constituted by the other: “from his experience of real familiarity [*Intimität*], he [the reader] gave life to the fictional one, and in the latter he prepared himself for the former.” It is a compelling and in many ways persuasive account of what happens when we read, a clarifying exposition of how reading imaginative fiction could be a process with public-making potential. It is also an inherently theatrical one. The same dynamic, the same complex dialectic between actual relations and their virtual or imagined counterparts, takes place between an audience member and a character or represented scene in a play, but in theatrical performance, in contrast to reading, it takes place in a literal as well as a figurative sense. At the phenomenological core of theatrical performance, according to Stanton Garner, is an “irreducible oscillation between represented and lived space,”¹² and that oscillation is realized not only on stage but also in the lived and imagined relations of the audience—in the dynamic interactions of audience, actor and character, of spectator and scene and of each member of the audience with his or her others. A play performed before an audience involves an intersubjective dynamic that is played out in all the virtual, empathetic dimensions that Habermas described so well in terms of reading fiction, but in a theater or other playing space, the audience-oriented

subjectivity is a twice-behaved phenomenon, to adapt Richard Schechner's definition of performance.¹³ It occupies and takes place in the actual, lived space inhabited by the audience, who are the performative subjects of a play as much as (if not more than) the actors on stage, and it also takes place in the imagined and virtual space that it shares with novelistic "fiction."

Reading imaginative fiction is a complex, empathetic and intersubjective process. It is also a performative and theatrical one, albeit in a more abstracted and figurative sense than we experience when actually seeing and hearing a play. Habermas's understanding of the social and spatial phenomenology of popular forms of art like the novel is quite persuasive, but not when it is mistakenly and exclusively—mistakenly, because exclusively—applied to the wrong popular and public art. Theater operates as the ghost in Habermas's literary machine, despite his efforts to exorcise it. It's the Derridean supplement to his otherwise brilliant analysis of the reading process, a necessary imp of the Habermasian perverse.

My point is not that Habermas contradicted himself. Indeed, his capacity to contradict himself, to think beyond and sometimes against his explicit historical and theoretical assumptions, is one of his strengths as a social theorist, and may be one of the reasons why we still read his early work. Did an unprecedented or "novel" kind of human subjectivity evolve in the course of the eighteenth century, at least in certain European societies? Probably not. Were the dimensions and parameters of the social subject *recalibrated* during the same period? I'm sure they were. Our sense of self and other, the syntax and declension of our social emotions and thoughts, the cognitive and affective scaffolding we rely on in the everyday world—all of these aspects of the social habitus are subject to history and to culture, to regular and even constant reconfigurations and negotiations. Nor do I mean to suggest that Habermas's "audience-oriented subjectivity" was a product of the reformation *rather* than the Enlightenment, or that the vehicle for such a shift or emergence was the Elizabethan play *rather* than the eighteenth-century novel. I do mean to suggest that Habermas's insistence on print as a primary agent of social change, capable of producing a new "familiarity [*Intimität*] whose vehicle was the written word, the subjectivity that had become fit to print" (51), should be met with skepticism rather than affirmation. Print was a highly important if not-quite-new signifying medium in the sixteenth century, and its societal role increased and expanded throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the period of the Reformation, however, it was by no means the dominant signifying medium that it would later become. Viewing the early modern period too narrowly from the perspective of print can obscure other modes of discursive production,¹⁴ especially those that combine the discursive and the nondiscursive, such as theatrical performance.

What about the staged word, the subjectivity that had become fit to perform? This question, on the rare occasions when it is raised, troubles modern theories of social media. In *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700*, for example, Adam Fox generally avoids the misleading binary opposition of his title and counsels us to think instead of different media, complex in their fluid boundaries and hybrid forms. Early modern England was a society “in which the *three* media of speech, script, and print infused and interacted with each other in . . . myriad ways.”¹⁵ Shifting our terms of historical analysis from the linguistic equivalent of apples and oranges—“oral” is a medium of discourse, but “literate” describes a skill that has been taught and learned¹⁶—to actually comparable yet distinctly different media is a great step forward. Theater is notably absent from this complex inmixing, however, and is scarcely mentioned elsewhere in Fox’s study. Are we to assume that drama in performance, on the stage rather than the page, was not a significant factor as a signifying medium in the period? Or that performance is so much like speech that it need not be mentioned as such? That it goes without saying?

In *The Marketplace of Print*, Alexandra Halasz recognizes early modern theatrical performance as a separate and distinct medium of signification. She concludes, however, that early modern theater in performance was unable to contribute to the making of a public, counterpublic or public sphere. Enacted on an actual stage, popular amphitheater drama in early modern England functioned, she writes, “as a kind of lightning rod in the emergence of the public sphere”:¹⁷ in other words, it diverted social and discursive energy away from that emergence, just as a lightning rod diverts electrical energy away from a house in a storm. Only when a play becomes less present and differently public—when it reappears on what Halasz calls the “paper stage,”¹⁸ in the form of a printed book—can drama give us access to public events or issues from within the private sphere:

Disseminated from the stage, discourse remains in public. Embodied in the commodity-book, discourse enters into private spaces, indeed helps define them as private, as places where one might have privileged access to public events without having to enter into public space.¹⁹

There is more than a whiff of magical thinking here. A book on a shelf, its pages uncut, defines a certain kind of private space but not yet, I would argue, a discursive one. “Discourse” enters the study only when the physical object is read, something that might take place soon after the purchase of the commodity-book but might also first take place decades or even centuries later—if ever. Discourse is the active agent here, not the book as a physical object that can be bought and sold. An argument on the street, a sermon in the square, a royal proclamation read out loud—these are not made available for purchase, are not “commodities” in any sense of the word, but they are discursive entities nonetheless, and capable of functioning as both partial cause and telling effect of the classic Habermasian public sphere.

According to Habermas, earlier forms of theater had to be weaned away from “representation” before theater could participate in the public sphere—but it did eventually do just that. According to Halasz, a play in performance, regardless of period or the presence or absence of a “fourth wall,” can never so participate. Halasz assumes that it is only through the “commodification of discourse” that any discursive media can contribute to any kind of public. Performance in her understanding cannot be a commodity even when it is made available to anyone who can pay for admission. Commodities, according to Halasz, are “things” in a physical, material, tangible sense:

The marketplace commodification of discourse requires the conversion of social practices—storytelling, preaching, the dissemination of “news” or knowledge—into things available for purchase.²⁰

Sixteenth-century popular drama, it seems to me, was quite inventive in the ways it converted other social practices into something available for purchase—biographical narratives, fictional and historical modes of storytelling, various forms of knowledge disseminated in new and sometimes original forms—and, most importantly, in the ways it converted such sources from one regime of literacy to another, from the highly restricted social practice of reading into a phenomenally accessible experience. But a play in performance lacks “thingness” in Halasz’s sense—“things available for purchase”—even though it has been made available to any and all who can pay the price of admission. A play cannot become a commodity *qua* performance, even when theater adopts the proscenium stage and the “fourth wall” that were so important to Habermas. Halasz’s exclusion, in other words, is absolute. A play must shed its performative nature and reappear in print, on what she calls the “paper stage,” before it can give us access to the virtual dimensions of a public sphere that can only emerge, according to Habermas and most of his critics and commentators, within the private or intimate sphere.

According to Marx, however, commodities are *social* things as well as physical or material things. Indeed, in terms of their value-form, they are networks of association. They are “social relations between things,” as Marx writes in the first volume of *Capital*, and “material relations between persons.”²¹ They are not contained in or by their physical or material properties.²² They are never identical to themselves in their material guise, even when they are accessible to analysis in that form. I am not persuaded that discourse needs to be commodified in order to contribute to the making of a public or counterpublic, but even if it did, early modern theatrical performance would seem to qualify, since it involved such an intense and extensive commodification of the discourses of the period.

Halasz clearly thinks otherwise; hers is a more radical antitheatricity than Habermas’s. “Disseminated from the stage,” as she asserts above, “discourse remains in public.”²³ The assumptions underlying Halasz’s thinking are not unusual. Performance is effervescent; theatrical

productions do not last; they cease to exist as such once the performance is over. For Halasz, a play in performance is rooted in the immediate present and has no subsequent history or itinerary; it cannot travel in time or space after the epilogue is delivered and thus it cannot enter into the private or intimate spheres of the social. Books last, on the other hand, and are not left behind in the book stall after we have purchased them.²⁴ They accompany us home, where they can redefine our private spaces and private and public spheres. Words on the page are lasting forms of distributed memory as well as signification; they can be reread, transported elsewhere, conveyed to future generations and so forth. Performance has limited duration and no lasting memorial existence: it is inaccessible once it has been experienced, so even if we accept it as a commodity-form, it is one that is fully consumed at the moment of its own production. It is a signifying medium, but its poor memory and lack of retention mean that it cannot help us to imagine alternative communities or counterpublics or bring them into historical actuality. Publics always historicize; performance, like orality, suffers from a kind of structural amnesia.²⁵ It remains in public and in the present, which it can only hypostatize as the past.

Clearly, we are dealing with different blindnesses to performance, different strains of antitheatricality and different misapprehensions of the place of the stage as a potential catalyst for the formation of publics, counterpublics or public spheres. Habermas has a more capacious understanding of the commodity-form, and his emphasis on the phenomenology of reading and performance, although hampered by some fundamental misapprehensions about the nature of early modern English drama, does recognize that theatrical performance eventually contributed to the ongoing maintenance, if not to the initial formation, of the bourgeois public sphere. It is a denatured form of theater, stemming from Habermas's deep misunderstanding of the semiotics and phenomenology of performance, and of some of the specifics of theater history. He mistakenly regarded popular Elizabethan theater as a kind of court masque writ large—but his unwittingly performative account of novel-reading reveals a rather insightful understanding of the cognitive, affective and ideological dynamics of performance itself.

In terms of the cultural sphere of the late eighteenth century, Habermas seems to recognize two distinct kinds of theatrical public. The first, which he explicitly identifies and calls a "theater-going public," is only incidentally concerned with theatrical performance; the second, which bears no name but is exemplified by the theater of Beaumarchais, involves an etiolated form of performance, a withdrawal from the audience to establish a new and more distant relationship with them—a more novelistic one—from behind the proscenium. Provisionally, I'll call these the occupational and the ideological. The first, identified as a theater-going public, would be made up of those private individuals whose self-interpellated identities, as

members of a class that includes a great many other like-minded theatergoers, was the force that created a “cultural” kind of imagined community:

The products of culture . . . had become publicly accessible: in the reading room and the theater, in museums and at concerts. Inasmuch as culture became a commodity, and thus finally evolved into “culture” in the specific sense (as something that pretended to exist merely for its own sake), it was claimed as the ready topic of a discussion through which an audience-oriented [*publikumsbezogen*] subjectivity communicated with itself. (29)

Such a public would by definition exceed any given audience, since it would necessarily include an undefinable number of posited or virtual individuals who might not be attending any given theatrical performance but were nonetheless included in this culturally—or aesthetically—determined form of imagined community.²⁶

The second kind of theatrical public, which we might call the ideological or perspectival, has more amorphous outlines. It would be composed of those private individuals who, in response to some aspect, large or small, of a particular performance, align themselves with a particular cognitive and affective position, a perspective or point of view that extrapolates a collective or public identity from the ground of such an individual, phenomenological alignment. In this kind of theatrical public, the play—in performance—is the thing. The public in question would be rooted in the phenomenological experiences of performance, and would grow or flourish elsewhere. It would be made up of those private individuals whose self-interpellated identity, as members of a class that included all those who might share a similar response to a specific moment in or specific aspect of the performance, fostered an ideologically determined kind of imagined community. An ideological or perspectival public might include most or all of those present, but in an extreme case it might also include only one member of the actual audience, whose alignment with other members of a like-thinking public would, in such a case, be entirely virtual. An example might be someone who doesn’t laugh when Malvolio is taunted even though all those around her do, or someone who responds with ambivalence or distress rather than relief or joy when the duke makes his queasy proposal to Isabella at the end of *Measure for Measure*. From this kind of theatrical public, new kinds of cognitive and affective alliances, powerful and real despite—or rather, because of—their imagined nature, can develop. New modes of social or ideological or political thinking can even emerge. The theater of Beaumarchais, as Habermas put it, brought the revolution on stage.

What Habermas locates in Beaumarchais, however, is inherent in the theatrical or performative sign in and of itself. Theatrical performance is always a powerful form of symbolic action, as Kenneth Burke would say, with both discursive and nondiscursive attributes. Contemporaries of Kyd and Marlowe and Shakespeare hardly needed to be reminded that theatrical performance was a potent social force, or that its relationship to the

established order could be quite different from what Habermas imagined. “Preachers, Printers, and Players . . .,” as John Foxe declared in 1570, “be set up of God, as a triple bulwarke against the triple crown of the Pope.”²⁷ Not all devoted or “hot” Protestants, it seems, were antitheatricalists like Philip Stubbes or Stephen Gosson. Unlike Adam Fox, who asked us to think of oral, scribal and printed media as the primary forms of signification in early modern England, John Foxe, the author of the *Book of Martyrs*, rightly includes theater as an essential component of his militantly Protestant trinity. Note that Foxe highlights “players” rather than playwrights or authors: the emphasis is unmistakably on performance rather than script, the stage rather than the page, as one of three distinct and critical media of social transformation. Preaching, of course, is a specific type of oral media; printing, a specific type of what we might call “inscriptive” media; and playing, a specific type of what we might call “performative” media. Our social and historical terms of analysis determine what we can see of the past and where we can go in our efforts to understand it. If we expand Foxe’s specific types of signification into general categories and begin to think in terms of the oral, the inscriptive and the performative, we can begin to escape the ideological and other confusions that are imbricated in the long-standing distinction between “oral and literate” cultures. We can also begin to restore the performative to its rightful place in the early modern period, as a consequential and primary mode of signification, and to understand theatrical performance as John Foxe once saw it, as a way to bring alternative forms of civil society into being, to reimagine community and, by doing so, bring new forms into historical actuality.

A classic Venn diagram, which pictures a single configuration but implies the innumerable other inmixings that are possible, seems the best way to illustrate our revised categories of primary signifying media:

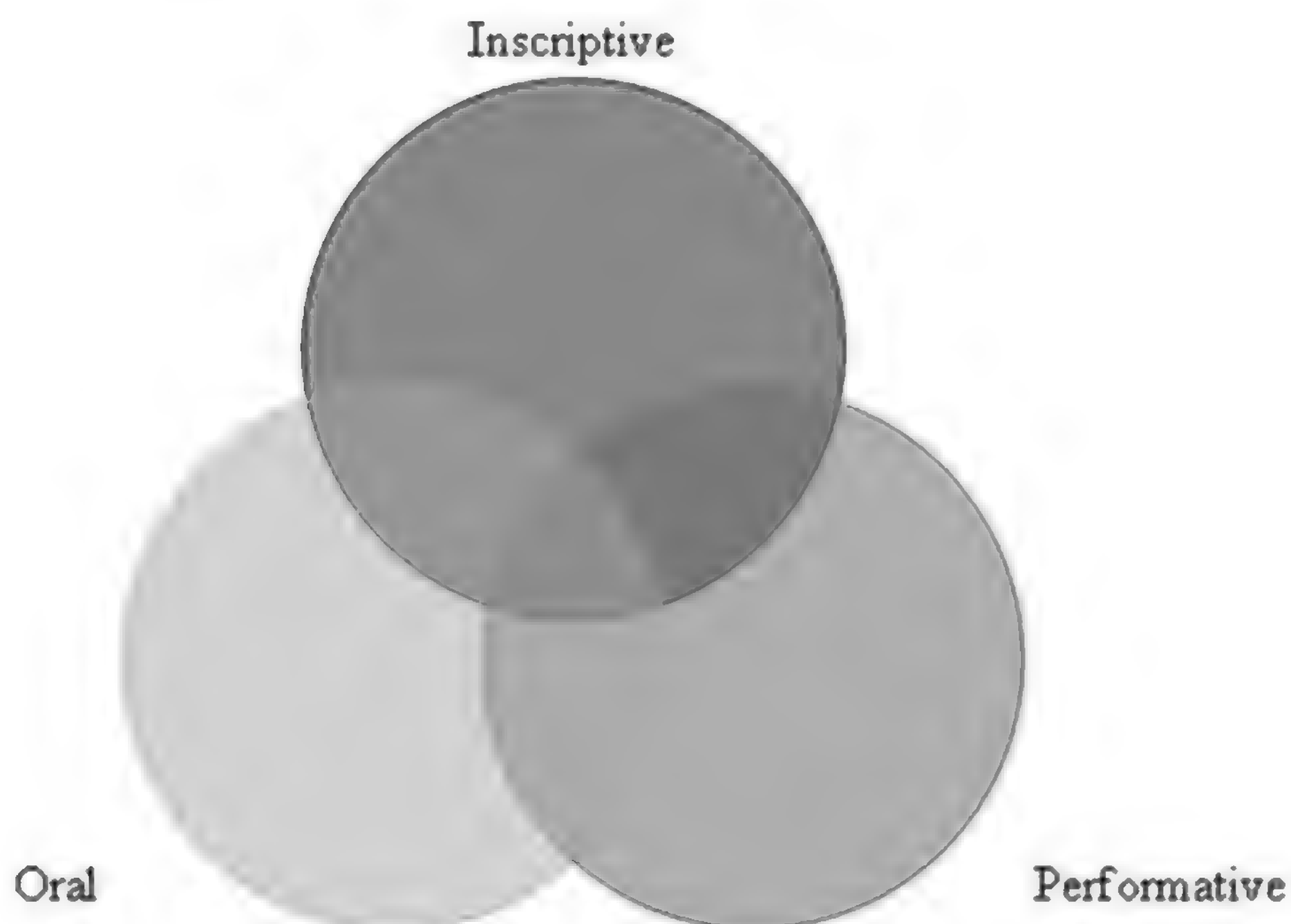


Figure 1.1 Discursive and nondiscursive media.

In everyday life, it would be rare to encounter any specific medium in an unadulterated form. A sermon would usually be written before delivered; an actor's part scripted before being memorized or performed; a dramatic role enacted with and through complex forms of speech but also, at silent but often highly significant moments, without any words at all. "Inscriptive" would include linguistic signs that are cut in stone as well as inked marks made by the hand or mechanically impressed on a page (the term "inscriptive" comes from *sker-*, to cut or incise). Some forms of ritual might qualify as purely performative, silent and communal forms of efficacious enactment, and would thus represent an entirely nondiscursive mode of signification.²⁸ Theater would be lodged in the performative yet it would also communicate with both the inscriptive and the oral, in varying ways and degrees.

Media are technologies, however. An undue or exclusive emphasis on them can (and often has) easily distort the role they play as agents of social change. In his seminal study of manuscript culture in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Harold Love suggested that the hegemony of print has obscured our understanding of the other ways in which meaning was regularly and consequentially made public throughout this period.²⁹ We haven't fully digested Love's work on what he called "scribal publication," however, if we fail to realize its implications for other media, including the oral and the performative. Scribal publication, the circulation of a manuscript as the final, public and perfected form of the work rather than a draft in search of a printing press, differs from print publication in significant ways. Works that were scribally published established different audiences, especially in terms of class, and encouraged or made possible different forms of association; they contributed, in other words, to the imagining (and hence the production) of different kinds of community and different kinds of publics or counterpublics. Love was not merely juggling terms when he described the circulation of a work in manuscript as an act of *publication*; he was expanding our focus from that manuscript's mode or technology of production to its public and social roles. Publication, in this broader sense of a concept that has been unduly monopolized by print, can be understood as the instantiation or making public of discourse by means of a wide range of signifying media, not all of them print or scribal. Publications are symbolic actions that produce public forms of signification: they are social things, we might say, whose modes of production and dissemination convey, interpellate, induce or make possible differing social and ideological perspectives. If media make meaning in the sense of *techne*, then publications make meaning in the sense of *poiesis*.

Oral publication has a long history, of course—proclamations were said to be "published" when read out loud in market or square—but modern disciplines have tended to misrecognize the oral as an absence, the

opposite of literacy rather than a discursive mode that requires a different form of literacy, and because of this we have often under-appraised its role in terms of kind as well as degree. Theater and other performative media have also been with us, East and West, long before Gutenberg. Harold Love asks us to think of the hand-written or copied manuscript as a form of “scribal publication;” Francis Beaumont asked us to think of theatrical performance in a similar vein. In the first printed edition of *The Faithful Shepherdess* (c. 1609), Beaumont identified the commodity-book as “this *second* publication” (emphasis mine). The *first* publication of the play, in other words, was the one that took place on stage: an act of theatrical publication, with entirely different capacities to engage individual and collective identities.³⁰

Considered as distinct and alternative ways of making words and things public, we might illustrate the most significant kinds of early modern *publication* (as opposed to early modern media) as follows:

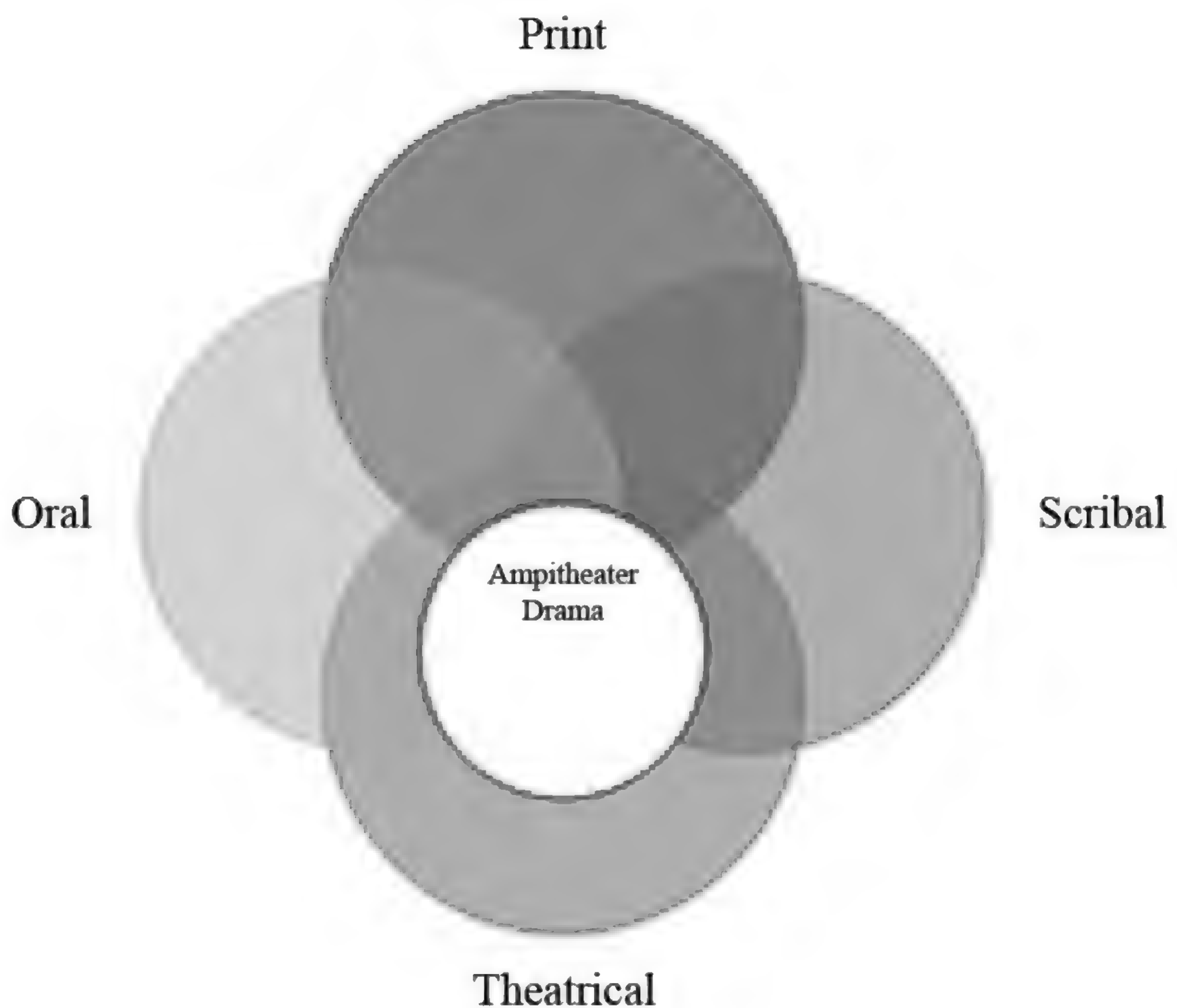


Figure 1.2 Spheres of early modern publication: the place of the amphitheater stage.

Any given genre of drama or individual play will participate in a different ratio of the four spheres of publication (my smaller figure quite approximately locates amphitheater drama). Likewise, other modes of public meaning—a sermon, a piece of prose fiction, a lyric poem—will involve a hybrid conjuncture of some or all of these spheres of publication. Each conjuncture locates us in a different signifying social space, and asks from us or offers to teach us a different combination of literacies.

Making *something* public—out in the open, widely known or disseminated or accessible—is not the same thing as making *a* public. Acts of publication are, however, significant acts of production and dissemination, and can serve as one of the conditions of possibility for making a public, a counterpublic or a public sphere. Publication is not the province of any one signifying medium such as print; different media lend themselves to different forms of publication and affect or make possible different kinds of publics because they involve different material and spatial phenomena. The social arts—I would include Habermas's novel in such a category—have critical or theoretical dimensions as well as aesthetic ones. However, experiencing theatrical performance and reading a novel are markedly different ways of participating in, and thus thinking about and contributing to, our always ongoing socializations. At the most general level, for example, performance requires a different and more complex kind of spatial literacy. The reading of a novel takes place in actual as well as virtual time and space, but the physical setting—the study, the library, the morning bus—needs to be as insignificant (or nonsignifying) as possible. The actual space of reading, in other words, remains nearly transparent to the virtual, imaginatively performative dialectic of relations that Habermas describes so well. The actual space of reading contributes to the phenomenological experience as little as possible.³¹ A dramatic performance has a different spatiality and sociality, distinct from what we experience in a “private” reading space but also distinct from what we experience in a public square where a proclamation might be read or a church where a sermon is delivered. The imagined communities explored by theatrical performance are actual as well as virtual in a deeper and even additional spatial sense, since they include rather than eclipse the physically inhabited social space of the theater or auditorium for any given performance.

Theater is a spatial art, and the social is one of its deeper or additional dimensions. The play's the thing, but “the play” only comes into existence when it is performed and experienced by an audience. It is not the work which is published on the page, by scribal or printed means; phenomenologically, the play-as-read is closer in terms of its actual spatiality and sociality to the novel-as-read. Theatrical performance is something that happens only in the presence of and by means of an actually existing audience; it takes place, comes into existence, only through the collective and

individual participation and agency of that audience. An audience is both a plural singularity and a singular kind of plurality. It is one of the crucial components that make up the complex physical, social, psychological and semiotic architectonics of the theater or auditorium.

All modes of publication have their own histories as well as literacies, of course; each historical mode has served, in its specific historical context, to define or recalibrate or challenge or even simply make capable of imagination, quite different relationships between private and public spheres and their corresponding collective and individual identities. Publication of the theatrical kind requires and develops in us a kind of literacy that is at once a social and a spatial literacy. Different forms or moments of theater require us to develop different kinds of these literacies, but in general, and in comparison to print or scribal or oral modes of publication, we can say that theatrical publication typically displays a special knack for the semiotics of affective and cognitive space.

Does this emphasis on the spatial and social dynamics of the performative involve us in an illegitimate mystification or metaphysics of presence? Or a rarefied sense of the aesthetic, as something set apart from the pressures and fault lines of everyday life, occupying the kind of safe or neutral zone that Stephen Greenblatt has defined as the place of the stage?³² I think not. The fleeting experience of a play performed vanishes in the instant of its flaring up before and within us, but the phenomenological experience of reading that Habermas describes is also fleeting, unrepeatable, and yet, lasting and consequential as well. Disseminated on the stage, theatrical discourse, like all the other components of theatrical performance, does not “remain in public” as Halasz would have us believe, any more than a novel or treatise remains on the page after it is read. Like other forms of publication, theatrical performance shapes and disseminates knowledge—and knowledge is not fully created if it is not remembered, circulated and at least capable of informing our private and public selves.

Let us imagine, as a kind of corrective thought experiment—corrective to my abstract theoretical assertions as well as customary ways of thinking about theater as something merely momentary or effervescent—let us imagine that the year is 1599 and we are in Elizabethan London. At one much-frequented bookstall, we buy a relatively new translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, realizing as we come across it that we know almost nothing about Roman history and want to close that gap in our education. On that same afternoon, we travel to Southwark to see the new play that has opened at the recently erected Globe. It is called *Julius Caesar* and is largely based on Plutarch, though we may or may not know this as yet. The space of the theater is of course accessible to anyone who can pay the price of admission, just as the book, where the story of Caesar's assassination is also related,

is accessible to anyone who has the price of purchase. We need different skills, however, different social, linguistic, spatial and other literacies, to get beyond the threshold of either form of Roman history.

Where is discourse located in each instance, where does it go and are there other, nondiscursive forms of signification that are important to consider? For Habermas, an Elizabethan play was entirely caught up in the creation and promulgation of the representative publicity of the official and dominant order. For Halasz, the play would remain in public, a theatrical ghost in the machine, something (not really a “thing”) we would leave behind when we exited the amphitheater. But Plutarch’s *Lives*, made portable and accessible by the printed form of the work and its translation into English, would enter into our private spaces and help to redefine them “as places where one might have privileged access to public events without having to enter into public space.”³³

But isn’t it hard to imagine that every bit of Roman history and every bit of Shakespearean verse was left behind in the Globe like so many peanut shells, when the play was done? For a moment, let’s consider what we know about the dissemination of book and performance, paper stage and actual theater. With any printed book, of course, we have no way of knowing how many copies were actually read. Even if its pages have been cut, we can’t be sure that a particular volume was ever read, in whole or in part, unless the reader or readers left behind some form of scribal notation in the margins. Knowing how many copies were sold tells us little about the discursive circulation of *knowledge* in the form of a printed book, but we often know something about the limits of its immediate, synchronic dissemination. Even when the Protestant Reformation expanded the “marketplace of print” significantly, press runs of books printed without patent were relatively small. Eight hundred to one thousand copies of a title would not be unusual. If we assumed, as part of my thought experiment, that every copy of the new Plutarch was sold and every copy was read immediately, the number of readers would still pale in relation to the number of spectators who attended, on a daily basis, early modern amphitheater drama. London amphitheaters seated from 2500 to 3000; although we have very little information about the number of performances that a relatively successful new play might enjoy, the number of auditors and spectators at a single performance on a single afternoon could easily involve as many as three times the maximum number of readers the printed book could have enjoyed.

Early modern theater was not *merely* an enacted form of learning, but it was this too, a highly accessible and complex distribution of knowledge. The performance of *Julius Caesar* injected a significant part of Roman history, with its attendant and quite relevant republican debates, into the hearts and minds of its audience, including all those whom Plutarch’s *Lives* could never reach. The play in performance was available to all those individuals whose literacies—social, spatial, oral and so forth—did

not extend to the written or printed word.³⁴ By the end of the performance, the individual and collective memories of our imagined audience would have had deeper roots than before. That audience would have acquired a more complex and branching purchase on the historical past; their affective and cognitive experiences would have accompanied them home or to the tavern, where they would continue to grow and develop, as memories often do.

Of course, the printed word, like the scribal word, has a greater reach, geographically as well as diachronically, which allows it to survive from one generation to the next and enjoy a multiplicity of readings and readers over time and space. However, we moderns and postmoderns, entranced by the powers of print and digital media, tend to regard theater as if it were merely local in its effects as well as in its conditions of possibility. We tend to underestimate how quickly and how far social things can pass from person to person, whether by word of mouth or breath or touch. When the audience of a video on YouTube expands at an exponential rate, we say that it has “gone viral.” No one can deny that modern media disseminate images and ideas, discursive and nondiscursive forms of signification, at a scale that is unprecedented. But “going viral” is still a metaphor here, evoking something else that can also travel at surprising rates and conquer great distances; the potency of the metaphor lies in human catastrophes of biology, spread in many cases by “word of mouth.” Viruses travel by proximate means, whether by the passing of breath from one to another or the touch of bodies or the intermixing of plasmas, and yet, viruses can move quite efficiently in space and time, as we know from the history of medieval plagues and early modern syphilis and the Spanish flu of the early twentieth century or the human immunodeficiency virus of its final decades. A play experienced in performance also travels, even if not by performative means.

Theater is well woven into the fabric of so many different societies, and this is probably not coincidental. It has served as one of the social tools that Western cultures have regularly employed when they want to think about how they feel and feel what they are thinking, and to do so in actual, experiential and felt spaces as well as virtual or imagined worlds.³⁵ We turn to social arts like theater and invent new forms of it for a variety of reasons, but sometimes, to quote Simpcox's wife in *2 Henry VI*, we do so out of pure need: in order to think through and about ourselves in ways that can't necessarily be accomplished elsewhere or by other means. This seems to have been especially the case in a period like the early modern, when theater could still be part rival, part complement or ally, part alternative to other forms of publication like script and print and proclamation: all of them ways of making something public, and all of them playing significant roles in the structures of thought and feeling that made up the Elizabethan social imaginary, the publics and counterpublics that informed it, and were informed by it.

NOTES

- 1 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).
2. See, for example, the essays by Nancy Fraser, Geoff Eley and Michael Warner in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).
3. For a succinct overview of the team's understanding of publics, see *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Edward Yachnin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1–21.
4. Craig Calhoun, "Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 162.
5. Most important and sometimes overlooked is his emphasis that the public sphere can only develop within the private or domestic sphere rather than in the open or in open public spaces where it might afterward manifest itself. "The public's understanding of the public use or reason was guided specifically by such private experiences as grew out of the audience-oriented [*publikumsbezogen*] subjectivity of the conjugal family's intimate domain [*Intimsphäre*]. . . . Included in the private realm was the authentic 'public sphere,' for it was a public sphere constituted by private people." (Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 28, 30).
6. For a fuller articulation of this, see Steven Mullaney, "Affective Technologies: Toward an Emotional Logic of the Elizabethan Stage," in *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*, ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett Sullivan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 71–89.
7. If the Frankfurt school is sometimes remembered for its suspicion of the aesthetic object, fostering a form of critique devoted to the demystification and correction of art and its ideological complicities, this is a reminder that there was always another side to that distrust. Art also mattered a great deal to the Frankfurt school, and the cultural sphere (in the aesthetic sense of the term) was for Habermas a kind of laboratory for new collective and individual subjectivities to develop—and a place where the social theorist can sometimes discover new algorithms for the historical relation of public to private, social to individual.
8. I would include Michel Foucault, Roy Strong, Stephen Orgel, Ed Muir, Stephen Greenblatt, Louis Montrose, Leonard Tennenhouse, Steven Mullaney, Margaret Greer and a long list of others.
9. One example would be Dutch *huiskerken* or "house churches" in early modern Amsterdam: Catholic churches that thrived in a Calvinist city because they were hidden (they looked exactly like the Dutch homes on either side of them) and yet also known to all, public secrets to Protestant and Catholic alike. Steven Mullaney, Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph Ward describe the paradoxical expansion of the public within the private in this fashion:
 If "house church" is a conundrum or portmanteau word, the sociological entity it refers to is a conundrum or portmanteau creature as well. It is as if a single room in a home were discovered to house, in a Mobius strip sort of way, another room within it, and that this second, interior space also violated the normal laws of physics by being larger than the space in which it was contained. In the *huiskerk*, private space opens up into, opens up as, public space in this fashion.
 See "Religion Inside Out: Dutch House Churches and the Making of Publics in the Dutch Republic," in Wilson and Yachnin, 25–36, quotation from 33–34.

10. Brian Cowan discusses salons and coffeehouses in the following chapter in this volume.
11. The gendered dimension of such empathy is even more complex. Since the affective point of view in most fiction was (and still is) structured as male rather than female, there is another stage to the dialectic for the female reader, and more complex subjectivity would be one of the results.
12. Stanton Garner, *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 42. See also Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (London: Penguin, 2008) and Herbert Blau, *The Audience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).
13. See Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
14. We can observe this in a wide range of studies of the printing press or printed book as an agent of social transformation; see, among many examples, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); and David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
15. Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5 (emphasis in original).
16. The lasting hold of such an ill-sorted and misleading dichotomy suggests that it has strong ideological roots, which in this case seem to be the residue of an embarrassed ethnography. The dichotomy makes sense only if we sufficiently deconstruct it to realize that “oral” is a cover term for its repressed original in literacy studies of the past: for the illiterate conceived as the “primitive.” It is a mystified distinction, and continues to impede even the best studies of public and private forms of meaning and understanding in the early modern era.
17. Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 182.
18. See Rachel Willie's chapter in this volume.
19. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 185.
20. Ibid, 29.
21. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 165, 166.
22. Marx uses a wide range of metaphors to convey what he calls the transubstantial or mysterious aspects of commodities. Commodities are described as *pupae* metamorphosing into other commodities or into money, sometimes as sirens who cast “wooing glances” at money, and sometimes they are even cast as *dramatis personae*. They are animated social entities, intersubjective as well as interobjective.
23. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 185.
24. Insofar as this is true, it should be true of books written, marketed, circulated and read long before the invention of the printing press. Halasz is not alone in her fetishization of print, by which I mean the attribution of new powers that have always been characteristic of written language, whatever the mode of its inscription.
25. For the concept of structural amnesia, see J.A. Barnes, “The Collection of Genealogies,” *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 5 (1947), 52–53.
26. Most of us would agree, contra Habermas, that this kind of theatrical public was a significant social phenomenon at least as early as the rise of Elizabethan professional theaters, which precipitated new forms of critical and aesthetic

thinking about drama as well as new debates about the relation between theater and commonwealth, theater and morality, theater and religion.

27. John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes* (London, 1570), 1524. “Bulwarke” is an offensive rather than defensive metaphor, referring to a siege engine. Thus the siege wall described in Deuteronomy 20:20 is translated in the King James and other English Bibles of the period as a “bulwark” (“thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued.”).
28. Foxe eschews such ritual or spectacle, unleavened by the word in any form, as any decent Protestant should do. However, the visual and the material aspects of *Actes and Monuments*—the woodcuts that convey many things that are not glossed by the text, the heft and ever-expanding number of its folio volumes—are also key elements in what the text publishes, or makes public, for its readers and viewers and auditors.
29. Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).
30. Italics are mine. See Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book 1480–1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 238, for other examples.
31. By actual, I do not mean “real,” nor do I mean merely physical or sensible. The Real is rather understood here as a complex algorithm of the actual and the virtual, neither one of which functions as literal or figurative, extant or imagined, present or absent. For a related conception of the Real, developed in dialogue and disagreement with Giles Deleuze, see Slavoj Žižek, *Organs Without Bodies: On Deleuze and Consequences* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).
32. See Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). For a different understanding of the cultural ecology and topography of the Elizabethan amphitheater, see Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988; reprint, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).
33. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 185.
34. See especially David Cressy, “Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England,” in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 305–319.
35. The literature on the social construction of space is too extensive to chronicle here. In terms of “virtual” space, my own thinking began long ago when reading Suzanne Langer’s insightful inquiry into the role of space in various arts; see *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in a New Key* (New York: Macmillan, 1977). Langer fundamentally misunderstands theatrical space, however; like Habermas, she objects to performance that does not hew to the architecture of the fourth wall.

2 English Coffeehouses and French Salons

Rethinking Habermas, Gender and Sociability in Early Modern French and British Historiography

Brian Cowan

The story of the emergence of a “public sphere” variously understood has become one of the most urgent concerns of recent historical writing on the early modern world.¹ While the concept was first adumbrated in German by Jürgen Habermas, who thought that his public sphere was surely a ‘category of bourgeois society,’ and thus historically traceable to the pre-(French) revolutionary rise of the bourgeoisie, most of the interest in his formulation among historians has dropped his Marxisant teleology. Much recent scholarship has also relentlessly sought to push back the point at which one can trace the emergence of a distinct sort of “public sphere,” Habermasian or otherwise.² The term has become so popular that it has been applied to studies of an increasingly wide variety of topics, some of which were central to the original Habermasian argument, such as print culture, but also to others, such as poor relief and petitioning, which were not.³

Habermas’s original concept of the emergence of a bourgeois public sphere developed out of his own interests in the critical theory of his Frankfurt School mentors, especially Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. Disagreements with the latter ultimately led him to complete his *Habilitationsschrift* on the public sphere in Marburg under the supervision of the Marxist Wolfgang Abendroth. The work was not intended to be a contribution to early modern history at all: it was designed to use modern history to develop a new political theory for postwar Germany that would allow for the development of a liberal political order, founded upon reason and rational public opinion.⁴ In the early days after its publication, this is precisely how it was understood.

It might seem ironic that a concept which developed out of a very German intellectual milieu should have become so influential in both Franco-phone and Anglophone historical writing, but it is nevertheless true that the Habermasian notion of an emergent *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* (or “bourgeois public sphere”) has been just as influential in early modern French and British historiography since the 1980s as it has been in German historical writing during the same period.⁵ It is likely that when Habermas wrote his famous thesis, he did not have a solid understanding of the French language;

no works in French are cited in the original text. Even Habermas's familiarity with Anglophone scholarship in the work is questionable: his citations of works from both languages tend to be taken from German translations, or worse from secondhand synopses and surveys in German. These works themselves were heavily reliant on Victorian- or Edwardian-era scholarship in English.⁶ Habermas was clearly aware of more recent Anglophone scholarship, however, and the pathbreaking work of Ian Watt on *The Rise of the Novel* (1957) had a great impact on Habermas's thinking about the ways in which literary transformations such as the "rise of the novel" prefigured and indeed helped to spur the development of a bourgeois public sphere.⁷ One would not normally expect deep proficiency in French or English from a German scholar of Habermas's generation, writing as he did in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, but this simply makes the reception and afterlife of the thesis all the more remarkable.

The public sphere concept was introduced by Habermas in 1962, but it did not begin to have a major impact on early modern historians until the work was translated into French in 1978 as *L'Espace Public: archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise*, and its influence grew when it was translated into English as *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* even later, in 1989.⁸ It could be said that as much was gained as was lost in the translation of this text from the German to the French and then to the English language. '*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*' could be translated into English perhaps more accurately, if not more mellifluously, as the structural transformation of publicity, or even better of 'publicness,' but by the 1980s, it was the 'public sphere' which had become the obvious catchphrase, a term which probably owes more to the French phrasing '*l'espace public*' than it does to Habermas's German original. Through this series of translations and conceptual transformations from one language to another, Habermas's *Öffentlichkeit*, or 'publicness,' had become reified as a spatial concept—a 'sphere' that included actually existing places which could be readily identified and studied by historians.

The delayed reception of public sphere theory by historians cannot be attributed to a lack of awareness of or access to Habermas's German text.⁹ European historians were well aware of Habermas's early work, particularly as his fame as one of postwar Germany's leading social philosophers grew, and the "baby boom" or "European Union" generation of scholars had few problems tackling texts in German, although Habermas's prose, much like that of his philosophical godfather Immanuel Kant, admittedly can be difficult in any language. The growing appeal of the public sphere concept for European historians seems rather to have been the result of the slow decline of unreconstructed social history and the linguistic and cultural turns in the discipline during the 1980s and afterwards.¹⁰ The rise of the "new cultural history" in the "third generation" of *Annales* history in France (perhaps exemplified by Roger Chartier) and the coincident

developments in post-Marxist Anglo-American history (exemplified by Robert Darnton and Lynn Hunt in the United States and perhaps by Colin Jones, Roy Porter and John Brewer from the UK) offered fertile ground for the reception and reconceptualization of Habermas's public sphere concept for early modern French and British historians.¹¹

The primary locus for the "public sphere" in early modern England has been commonly taken to be the coffeehouse, which most recent studies characterize as a social space in which masculine sociability dominated. While Habermas himself made note of this in his *Habilitationschrift*, the enthusiastic reception of his work by some scholars nearly two decades ago led to arguments such as those of Steven Pincus that the English coffeehouses were in fact much more accessible to women than had hitherto been believed. In this view, Habermas was too conservative: the English public sphere emerged even earlier and was even more extensive than he had claimed.¹² After a rather more careful examination of the evidence—most of which consisted of accounts of women acting as proprietors, servants or passing visitors through the coffeehouses—the predominantly masculine character of English coffeehouse sociability can be accepted without claiming that those coffeehouses were entirely closed to women. "Access" was not synonymous with equal, or even active, participation in the kinds of social activities (debate, discussion, news reading, business transactions) that were characteristic of coffeehouse sociability and have provoked such intense scholarly interest in the topic in recent years.¹³

Studies of eighteenth-century France have focused on the very different social milieu of aristocratic salons, so much so that a recent history of the coffeehouse has concluded, from a reading of the recent works of Roger Chartier and Dena Goodman in particular, that "historians of *ancien régime* France have suggested that the social role carved out by the coffeehouse in London was occupied in Paris by the salons, by Masonic lodges and by the academies and debating clubs."¹⁴ This salon culture has been presumed to differ from that of the coffeehouse in several significant ways, particularly in its relationship to distinctions of class and gender. Both men and women played important roles in French salon culture, but here again the role of women in salon society has undergone some important revision.

Unlike the coffeehouse, the salon was a social institution in which women were often active, and even leading, participants; but the institution itself has turned out to be even more difficult to define historically than the coffeehouse. The coffeehouse was at least a contemporary term used from the mid-seventeenth century onwards to refer to places where coffee and related exotic hot drinks were sold to the general public, and this definition works well enough even if the kinds of institutions it refers to were extremely varied. The 'salon,' however, is a term of rather later provenance. Antoine

Lilti has recently demonstrated decisively that the concept was elaborated as a useful term for describing aristocratic households which encouraged high-minded discussion only in the 1790s and in the nineteenth century. “The invention of the salon,” as Lilti calls this process, was in other words a post-French Revolutionary phenomenon.¹⁵ Before this time, the salon as a social space more often than not referred to the public exhibitions of paintings promoted by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, another institution associated with the rise of a public sphere, most famously by Thomas Crow.¹⁶

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that English and French investigations into the sociability of Habermas’s *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* have by and large focused on such different social spaces. There were, after all, salons of a sort in early modern English aristocratic circles—especially the bluestocking feminists of Elizabeth Montagu’s circle—and the *café* was introduced to French urban society at more or less the same time as the rise of the coffeehouse occurred in England. But there is something about the coffeehouse which has been understood almost from its inception as being quintessentially English and, conversely, something about the salon which has been seen as quintessentially French.¹⁷ Many monographs have now been published on the English coffeehouses and the French salons, but we still await the publication of a reliable study of the early modern French *café*.¹⁸ In the meantime, one must still rely on older works such as Alfred Franklin’s *Le Café, le Thé, et le Chocolat* (1893), a volume in his remarkable antiquarian collection *La Vie Privée d’Autrefois*. Similarly, if one wishes to study salon society in England, until recently one would have had to resort to Chauncey Brewster Tinker’s 1915 book on *The Salon and English Letters*; there are now more recent works on the bluestockings and individual English salonnières such as Elizabeth Montagu. Nevertheless, the notion of an English salon has not been easily incorporated into the history of early modern English sociability; when discussed, it has been considered more as an event (and the product of the remarkable drive and determination of a few ‘brilliant women’) than an institution, as it has been discussed in the French historiography of the salon.¹⁹

One of the reasons for this divergent focus on coffeehouses and salons in English and French public sphere historiography is that Habermas himself paired the two in his original text on *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. For Habermas, both the English coffeehouses and the French salons were places where “literature had to legitimate itself,” although he noted that critical debate was more likely to be politicized in the English coffeehouse milieu perhaps because “only men were admitted to coffeehouse society . . . whereas the style of the salon, like that of the rococo in general, was essentially shaped by women.”²⁰ In one paragraph in this influential thesis, Habermas managed to set the agenda for a whole new generation of scholarly inquiry among eighteenth-century historians.²¹

The different emphases on the coffeehouse and the salon in English and French scholarly responses to the Habermasian public sphere concept have also reflected the rather different visions of the social worlds of the English and the French Enlightenments that have predominated in each national historiography. English intellectual historians have often complained that the concept of Enlightenment culture has far too often taken the French experience as normative, so that a society without an actively intolerant and persecutory church and state (Voltaire's notorious *l'infâme qu'il faut écraser*) could not produce a real Enlightenment.²² Peter Gay's famous and influential study of the Enlightenment as "the rise of modern paganism" perhaps epitomized this view, but it has now met with the powerful criticism of social historians such as Roy Porter and John Brewer, each of whom has emphasized the liveliness of an English Enlightenment that fed not so much on fighting the grand struggle to crush clerical infamy (for that struggle had more or less been won in the seventeenth century), but on the rise of a commercial economy, a consumer society and a rapidly expanding imperial state.²³ Given these traditions, one might see how it would seem natural that the English Enlightenment might be best characterized by the urban, commercial and "bourgeois" coffeehouse, while the French Enlightenment could be seen to center on the domestic and aristocratic circles found in the salons.

It is unlikely that this sense of difference can last for much longer, however. Studies such as those by Daniel Roche and especially Colin Jones have increasingly emphasized the commercialized nature of eighteenth-century French society and the leading role of metropolitan Paris as the '*capitale philosophique*' (to cite the title of a recent book by Stéphane van Damme) and have made the French experience of eighteenth-century economic growth look rather more like the English than we had previously realized.²⁴ Conversely, eighteenth-century English historians have begun to take seriously J.C.D. Clark's suggestion, now well over two decades old, that we might fruitfully understand England's long eighteenth century as a sort of old regime much like that of France. While Clark's arguments have by no means been universally accepted, the works of intellectual historians such as Margaret Jacob, Justin Champion and J.G.A. Pocock have all demonstrated conclusively that the English struggles against priestcraft and for an end to the political dominance of the established Church of England were hardly resolved by the Glorious Revolution.²⁵ They continued well into the nineteenth century and remained at the heart of English political culture.

Given these convergent trends in the histories of French and English Enlightenment culture, it seems likely that future studies in both national contexts will continue to emphasize the reciprocal influence between the nations' enlightened cultures.²⁶ If this is true, we may not have to wait long for future studies of the role of the French *café* in the construction of Enlightenment sociability and of the continuing importance of the aristocratic household as a center of intellectual patronage in eighteenth-century

Britain. The groundwork for the latter argument has already been laid by Dustin Griffin in his work on the survival of literary patronage in eighteenth-century Britain.²⁷

What role might the Habermasian ‘public sphere’ play in these future studies? The most striking thing to emerge from the recent historical literature on English coffeehouses and French salons is a growing consensus that the Habermasian characterization of these spaces as examples of a public sphere is no longer tenable. It is remarkable that in the year 2005, two such ‘revisionist’ monographs were published, one in French and the other in English, one on the world of the French salons and the other on the British coffeehouses, the first being Antoine Lilti’s remarkable *Le Monde des Salons: Sociabilité et Mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (2005) and the other being my own book *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (2005). Each of these works seeks in its own way to overturn an established ‘Habermasian’ orthodoxy regarding the social world of these paradigmatic social spaces and as such they may well be seen as the beginning of a new way of imagining the histories of public and private life in the long eighteenth century. Thirty-five years after the translation of Habermas into French, and almost a quarter century after the translation of his work into English, we may finally be approaching a post-Habermasian moment in the history of public and private sociability in France and England.²⁸

Why then has the Habermasian paradigm had such a powerful influence on the histories of social spaces such as the English coffeehouse and the French salon? The reasons for the ultimate unraveling (or debunking) of this appeal, at least for the community of scholarly historians, are in fact related. For the social spaces Habermas envisaged as part of his bourgeois public sphere were always romanticized, as was indeed his notion of a public sphere itself. It is worth noting that Habermas’s more mature theoretical work on communicative action turned to speaking of “ideal speech situations” rather than to empirical studies of an actually existing public sphere.²⁹ While it may not matter to a philosopher whether the bourgeois public sphere ever existed, it matters greatly to historians of early modernity, for whom it is crucial to get the story right. A convincing understanding of sociability in the early modern period cannot be based on a romantic myth, no matter how appealing it might be. The Habermasian public sphere concept has been based on two myths in particular, the utopian myth of a golden age of Enlightenment reason and openness, and its corollary—the dystopian myth of a modern (especially in the twentieth century) decline of that Enlightenment culture.

In order to discern and understand these utopian and dystopian tendencies in historical writing on the public sphere, it is helpful in this discussion

to distinguish between what I have called the normative and the practical public sphere.³⁰ A normative public sphere is an ideal type: it consists of the norms that guided proper comportment and actions in public life, even if such norms were rarely adhered to in practice and were subject to continual debate, discussion and perhaps renegotiation.³¹ The practical public sphere results from the lived experience of public life, and it too has been subject to change: at various times, it may have been rowdy, vicious and even violent; at others, it may have been tranquil.³² Today, one might argue that the practical public sphere is increasingly experienced as part of the virtual reality of online subjectivity.

For Habermas, the distinctiveness of the long eighteenth century was that the period saw the emergence and brief efflorescence of a public sphere in which the normative and the practical converged—indeed that was the essence of its world-historical significance. But the evidence for this supposed convergence between norms and practices was more often assumed, or simply asserted, by Habermas (and by many of his followers) than it was demonstrated. Some of the confusion between norms and practices in Habermasian writing on the public sphere has resulted from an interpretation of sources. Most of the source material we have for the social life of the past tends to be as much *prescriptive* as it is descriptive, and as such, these sources cannot be used as straightforward evidence for the lived experience of early modern public life. This is all the more true for novel or controversial social institutions such as the coffeehouse or the salon. Most of the early discussions and descriptions of these places came from interested parties who either loathed or loved them, and thus their evidence is best taken as interventions in the articulation of a normative public sphere—in other words, as expressions of how they thought people should behave in places like coffeehouses or salons.

To take one example from the history of the coffeehouse, much use has been made by historians of a 1674 poem published by a coffeehouse keeper named Paul Greenwood titled the “Rules and Orders of the Coffeehouse.” This work, a sort of parody of Ben Jonson’s poem in praise of alehouse camaraderie, the *Leges Conviviales* (1620), begins with the lines “First gentry, tradesmen, all are welcome hither, / And may without affront sit down together.”³³ This has been used as evidence that almost from its very inception, English coffeehouse sociability was noteworthy for its protodemocratic character, insofar as distinctions of rank were thought to be temporarily erased.³⁴ But of course they were not erased within the walls of the coffeehouse. Greenwood’s “Rules and Orders” were not even meant to be taken seriously as a guide to conduct; they were a playful attempt at making nascent coffeehouse sociability look quite innocent and far from the seditious dens of antiroyalist politics that their enemies often made them out to be. The “Rules and Orders of the Coffeehouse” is a useful text for understanding the ways in which coffeehouse society was imagined and defended in the early years of its introduction into England, but as a

description of the social life of those coffeehouses, of their practical public sphere as it were, it is useless and misleading.

A similar sort of debunking of utopian myths about French aristocratic salon society is at the heart of Liti's *Le Monde des Salons* as well. Moreover, the American historian David Bell takes Benedetta Craveri to task for her own romanticization of the history of the salon in his *London Review of Books* essay on her book *La civiltà della conversazione*, translated into English as *The Age of Conversation* (2001; 2005).³⁵ Every golden age must come to an end, and indeed a narrative of decline and fall has been at the heart of many of these historical myths surrounding the coffeehouse and the salon. One need only refer to the titles of works such as Richard Sennett's *Fall of Public Man* (1976) or Stephen Miller's recently published essay on *Conversation: A History of a Declining Art* (2006) to witness the staying power of this sense that the classic public sphere ultimately began to decline and wither away. In a similar vein, Markman Ellis's 2004 book on the coffeehouse claims that the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the decline of the British coffeehouse and that by the Victorian era, "the age of the coffeehouse had ended" and "the idea of the coffeehouse as a collective conversational experiment was finished."³⁶

The reasons for these declines have been less powerfully articulated than the strident assertions that such a fall from grace did in fact take place. For Habermas, this was really the heart of his story about the structural transformation of bourgeois publicness: it was ultimately destined to be co-opted and corrupted by the culture industry of advanced capitalism. Other accounts have recognized that there was always a long-standing tension between accessibility and exclusiveness, or between volubility and reserve, in such social spaces as coffeehouses and salons and thus argue that in the long run, it was perhaps inevitable that privacy and self-interest would win out over public-minded sociability.³⁷ A common theme running through these declension narratives, however, is the corrupting influence of modernization: in the wake of the French Revolution, it is assumed that such quintessentially old regime social institutions could no longer retain their luster. Indeed, for John Barrell, the French Revolution itself (or rather the reaction to it by the Pittite state in the 1790s) was directly to blame for the destruction of the public/private distinction that had, according to Barrell and Habermas, prevailed as a means of protecting coffeehouse society from overzealous state intrusion and persecution since the late seventeenth century.³⁸ Chartier has observed a similar process in old regime France, and thus counts it as one of the cultural origins, rather than a consequence, of the French Revolution.³⁹

Future research on the institutions of old regime sociability should question these assumptions of decline and fall. Did English coffeehouse sociability really die out in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? My suspicion is that it did not, although the nature of that sociability surely changed along with the social, economic and political development of the

British Empire. We await the publication of a definitive monograph which will put the later history of the British coffeehouse in its context.⁴⁰

The story of the decline of the aristocratic salon has been rather better served by French historiography, and Steven Kale's recent monograph on *French Salons* (2004) has admirably studied the so-called Indian summer of salon society in early nineteenth-century France. He wisely attributes the decline of the institution to a variety of factors, including political vicissitudes as well as changing attitudes to class and gender, a process he doesn't quite dare to identify as the rise of a bourgeoisie or the articulation of separate spheres, although his argument is amenable to these old master narratives.⁴¹ It is odd that, given the importance of the decline of the bourgeois public sphere to Habermas's original thesis, so little scholarly attention has been given to studying the putative decline of such characteristic institutions of this public sphere as the coffeehouse and the salon.

The construction of these Enlightenment myths certainly preceded their articulation by Habermas in the guise of the rise and fall of the bourgeois public sphere, but Habermas's particular manner of retelling this familiar tale lent it enduring credibility. It was a story that seemed to bring together the emerging interests of early modern historians in the ways in which the changing divisions between public and private lives were negotiated and even invented over time, and it did so in a way that tended to reconfirm the liberal, democratic and progressive prejudices of the academic classes found in the universities in Europe and North America. In other words, Habermas told us a story we desperately wanted to believe in. While recent historical and critical scholarship has complicated, refined and in some cases deeply criticized this story, it would be naïve to presume that these myths will ever completely fade away.

NOTES

1. This chapter has been presented in various guises to many audiences over several years. I would particularly like to thank Maarten van Dijck and the University of Antwerp for hosting a productive workshop on "The Development of Civil Society in Europe from the Middle Ages until Today" in November 2009; Kimberley Skelton for organizing a symposium on "Space and Sociability" at Brandeis University in April 2009; and Professors David Sabeian and Malina Stefanovska for inviting me to speak at the William Andrews Clark Library of UCLA for their conference on "Spaces of the 'Self' in Early Modern Culture: Circles of Sociability" in October 2007. My many collaborators in the MaPs project have also offered useful feedback on various occasions.
2. The Restoration is identified as the key date in England in Steve Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 67 (December 1995): 807–834; but

- the concept is used for much earlier periods in David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and in Peter Lake and Michael Questier, “Puritans, Papists, and the ‘Public Sphere’ in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context,” *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 3 (September 2000): 587–627. For more recent treatments of the issue, see Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, “Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England,” *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 2 (April 2006): 270–292; and Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, eds., *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
3. Diane Willen, “Women in the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Case of the Urban Working Poor,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19, no. 4 (1988): 559–575; Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); David Zaret, “Petitions and the ‘Invention’ of Public Opinion in the English Revolution,” *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 6 (1996): 1497–1555; and Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
 4. For the context, see James Gordon Finlayson, *Habermas: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and especially Matthew G. Specter, *Habermas: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
 5. See Brian Cowan, “Public Spaces, Knowledge, and Sociability,” in *Oxford Handbook of the History Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 251–66, for the intellectual translations of the Habermasian public sphere concept among historians.
 6. Markman Ellis, “The Coffee-Women, *The Spectator* and the Public Sphere in the Early-Eighteenth Century,” in *Women and the Public Sphere, 1700–1830*, ed. Elizabeth Eger, Charlotte Grant, Cliona Ó Gallchoir, and Penny Warburton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 44–45.
 7. Brian Cowan, “Making Publics and Making Novels: Post-Habermasian Perspectives,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. J.A. Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
 8. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962); Habermas, *L’espace public: archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise*, trans. Marc B. de Launay (Paris: Payot, 1978); Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederic Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). Important reviews of the reception of Habermas by early modern historians include Robert Darnton, “An Enlightened Revolution?” *New York Review of Books*, October 24, 1991, a review of Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia Cochrane, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991) and Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Dena Goodman, “Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime,” *History and Theory* 31 (1992): 1–20; the essays in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); and John Brewer, “This, That, and the Other: Public, Social, and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Shifting the Boundaries*, ed. Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995). See also Brian Cowan, “Geoffrey Holmes and the Public Sphere:

- Augustan Historiography from Post-Namierite to the Post-Habermasian,” *Parliamentary History* 28 (February 2009): 166–178.
9. Tim Blanning, *Culture of Power and Power of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6, perhaps makes too much of the difficulty of understanding Habermas’s original German text. The interest in, and use of, the public sphere concept by Anglophone scholars in the decade before *Structural Transformation* was translated into English belies this argument. By contrast, the remarkable linguistic skills of postwar English scholars are emphasized in Richard J. Evans, *Cosmopolitan Islanders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
 10. Habermas, “Further Reflections on the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, 421–461. See also Brian Cowan, “Ideas in Context: From the Social to the Cultural History of Ideas,” in *Palgrave Advances in Intellectual History*, ed. Brian Young and Richard Whatmore (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2006), 171–188.
 11. On the ‘third generation’ of Annales history, see Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929–89* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 65–93.
 12. Steve Pincus, “Coffee Does Politicians Create”; compare Cowan, “What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England,” *History Workshop Journal* 51 (2001): 127–157. For more recent statements by both authors, see Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), and Cowan, “Geoffrey Holmes and the Public Sphere,” as well as Cowan, “Café or Coffeehouse? Transnational Histories of Coffee and Sociability,” in *Drink in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Consumers, Cross-Currents, Conviviality*, eds. Susanne Schmid and Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (London: Pickering and Chatto, forthcoming).
 13. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
 14. Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004), 204.
 15. Antoine Lilti, *Le Monde des Salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), Chapter 1.
 16. Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); the role of English art exhibitions in eighteenth-century public making has been explored by David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), and John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997).
 17. See for example Steve Pincus’s attempt to contrast the different national characters of the English and French coffeehouses that finds the latter imperfectly “public” in his *1688*, 74–81.
 18. Thierry Rigogne of Fordham University is currently researching the French *café* in the old regime.
 19. Chauncey Brewster Tinker, *The Salon and English Letters: Chapters on the Interrelations of Literature and Society in the Age of Johnson* (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Gary Kelly, “Bluestocking Feminism,” in *Women, Writing and the Public Sphere, 1700–1830*, ed. E. Eger, C. Grant, C. Ó Gallchoir, and P. Warburton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 163–180; see also the collection by Gary Kelly, ed., *Bluestocking Feminism: Writings of the Bluestocking Circle, 1738–1790*, 6 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999); and the work of Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of*

- Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2010); and Eger and Luch Palz, *Brilliant Women: Eighteenth-Century Bluestockings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
20. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 33.
 21. In *ibid.*, 30, Habermas also suggested that the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German *Tischgesellschaften*, or dinner societies, also exemplified the emergent bourgeois public sphere. These dinner societies have received much less historical investigation from public sphere historians, most likely because these exclusive and nationalist organizations never fit well with the ideals of openness and liberal politics that are often associated with the characteristic institutions of the Habermasian public sphere. For discussion, see Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988; reprint, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 271–280, who considers Berlin's *Tischgesellschaften* "counter-salons" due to their exclusion of women and Jews.
 22. J.G.A. Pocock, "Clergy and Commerce: The Conservative Enlightenment in England," in *L'eta dei Lumi: Studi storici sui settecento europeo in onore di Franco Venturi*, (Naples: Jovene, 1985), 1:523–62.
 23. Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment*, 2 vols. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973); Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World* (New York and London: Norton, 2000); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*; and Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
 24. Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Roche, *Histoire des Choses Banales: Naissance de la Consommation, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1997); Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France, 1715–99* (London: Allen Lane, 2002); and Jones, *Paris: A History* (London: Allen Lane, 2005); Stéphane van Damme, *Paris, Capitale Philosophique de la Fronde à la Révolution* (Paris: Odile, 2005).
 25. J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), revised as *English Society, 1660–1832*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment* (London: Unwin, 1981); Justin Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); and J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, 5 vols. to date (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999–2011).
 26. See, for example, Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Lawrence Klein, "The Figure of France: The Politics of Sociability in England, 1660–1715," *Yale French Studies* 92 (1997): 30–45.
 27. Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Griffin, "The Social World of Authorship, 1660–1714," in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 37–60.
 28. Compare here Stéphane Van Damme, "Farewell Habermas? Deux décennies d'études sur l'espace public," <http://lamop.univ-aris1.fr/W3/espacepublic/vandamme.pdf>, accessed September 17, 2006; and see Cowan, "Making Publics and Making Novels."
 29. Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, 2 vols. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985).

30. Brian Cowan, "What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere?"; Cowan, "The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered," *Historical Journal* 47, no. 1 (2004): 21–46. Habermas himself has been more aware of this distinction than many of his epigones, as attested to by his work *Between Facts and Norms*, trans. William Rehg, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).
31. See, for example, Joseph Addison's and Richard Steele's attempt to shape the normative public sphere of early eighteenth-century England in their *Spectator* papers: Brian Cowan, "Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004): 345–366.
32. For changes in the experience of the coffeehouse public sphere, see Brian Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse," *History Compass* 5, no. 4 (July 2007): 1180–1213.
33. The text of the poem is reprinted in Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee Houses* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), 46–47, and the original broadside is reproduced in Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 103.
34. Edward Robinson, *The Early History of Coffee Houses in England with Some Account of the First Use of Coffee and a Bibliography of the Subject* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & C., 1893), 109–111; Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 81–82. Compare Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1763* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 13–14.
35. David Bell, "Twilight Approaches," review of *The Age of Conversation*, by Benedetta Craveri, *London Review of Books* 28, no. 9, May 11, 2006; compare Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, trans. Teresa Waugh (New York: New York Review Books, 2005). See also the exchange between the two in *London Review of Books* 28, no. 13, July 6, 2006, and *London Review of Books* 28, no. 15, August 3, 2006.
36. Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 215.
37. This seems to be the argument of works such as Miller, *Conversation: A History of a Declining Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); and perhaps Ellis, *The Coffee-House*.
38. John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapter 2 and esp. p. 95.
39. Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia Cochrane, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).
40. For a critique of this tendency to view the history of the early modern coffeehouse in declensionist terms, see Brian Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse." Although much work remains to be done on the history of the British coffeehouse in the Romantic and Victorian eras, it is safe to say that this history need not be told in terms of continuing decline from an ideal 'Enlightenment' model. See also Cowan, "Café or Coffeehouse?"
41. Steven Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Stability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). See also K. Steven Vincent, "Elite Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century France: Salons, Sociability and the Self," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 2 (2007): 327–351.

3 Viewing the Paper Stage

Civil War, Print, Theater and the Public Sphere

Rachel Willie

This chapter seeks to modify existing models of the relations between print and an emergent public sphere by considering the special case of drama written for a temporarily suspended theater. At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, the English parliament ordered that the playhouses be closed. This ordinance for theater closure was not unusual: it was common in times of adversity and plague for the theaters to be closed, as entertainment and holiday pastimes were not considered conducive to the maintenance of public order and the containment of infection.¹ However, the ordinances passed by parliament in 1647 and 1648 to ratify the closing of the playhouses place greater emphasis on the alleged immorality of stage plays. The third ordinance for theater closure, passed in February 1648, stipulates that miscreants who were caught performing drama would be punished by a public whipping in market squares on market day, which perversely created a counter-form of public spectacle to that of the stage. Monies received from acting would be confiscated and distributed among the poor of the parish. The audience members did not escape censure and were to be fined five shillings each.² At the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the playhouses were officially reopened and the former courtier playwrights William Davenant and Thomas Killigrew were each granted a patent to manage a theater in Restoration London. Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, was angered by Davenant's success. Despite the ban on performing plays, Davenant had been permitted to produce entertainments upon the Protectorate stage, and not only was Davenant's perceived lack of loyalty to the crown rewarded by an appointment to manager of an acting company, Killigrew and Davenant were also effectively granted permission to license the plays that they produced.³

These ordinances for theater closure feed into a narrative that presents an image of an austere and disgruntled parliament: not only was this parliament eager to execute its anointed monarch, it also was keen to address the more weighty affair of stage plays and ban all dramas from being performed. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians have made much of the belief that holiday pastimes were considered profane by the putatively puritanical regime.⁴ More recently, critics such as Susan Wiseman

and Janet Clare have presented a more nuanced appraisal of the state of the stage during the Commonwealth and have uncovered examples of state-sanctioned performances.⁵ Despite this, popular images of the English Civil War period still present it as a time of repression. This demonstrates how successful contemporaries were at fictionalizing the political moment in which they lived, and how this fiction has fed into popular interpretations of history. The closure of the playhouses at the outbreak of the Civil War has helped to construct an enduring image of the period.

In some respects, these views of seventeenth-century England were useful to Whig historiography, which appropriated the past as a means of justifying and celebrating the present. Whig historiography dominated historical studies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It presented a teleological view of history as a way of showing how the past created the conditions of the present. In these readings, the abdication of James II in 1688 and the establishment of a monarchy whose powers are limited by constitution becomes the definitive point at which revolution has occurred. This suggests that the political divisions and perceived anxieties about holiday pastimes that prevailed before the Restoration represent an extreme reaction to the various social shifts as the three kingdoms moved toward constitutional monarchy: social and political schisms become more fraught as society and authority is redefined. Herbert Butterfield criticized these narratives for anachronistically assuming that value judgments in the present are identical to those of the past, and censured the strong political bias that informed this type of scholarship. From the 1970s, revisionist historiography challenged the Whiggish tendency to create grand narratives of history. However, as Peter Lake and Steve Pincus have observed, revisionism's "focus on court-centered elite politics and ideological consensus is exactly replicated in the nineteenth- and earlier twentieth-century Whig accounts of the later seventeenth century."⁶ Lake and Pincus suggest that Whig and revisionist interpretations of history correlate, but the epistemological and ideological concepts that underpin each reading of history are radically different.

By locating the origins of the public sphere in England in the later seventeenth century, Jürgen Habermas's discussion of the emergence of a bourgeois public sphere appears to be in accord with Whig historiography. Parliamentary democracy's triumph over royal absolutism created the conditions under which a public sphere could form and flourish. Conversely, Lake and Pincus argue that the political crisis of the mid-seventeenth century led to the emergence of civil society and the public sphere: as the state came under threat from various socioeconomic, political, confessional and conspiratorial forces, it allowed the temporary formation of various publics as a way to enforce its position, and the state became increasingly powerful in consequence. The festivities that surrounded the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 would seem to endorse the notions of public making proposed by Lake and Pincus. Some of the panegyric that greeted the return of the king offers support for

their conception of the Commonwealth period by presenting the Restoration as a return to tradition and traditional holiday pastimes. Through this panegyric, the restored regime sought to influence public opinion and present narratives of the recent past. As we shall see, some paratexts that accompanied some plays printed in the 1650s offer a prehistory to these views. Discourse that had circulated as a form of protest against parliamentary authority became a way of endorsing royalist authority. However, this very connection between authority and political protest is fraught with tensions relating to how we conceive the relationship between authority and the public sphere. While insightful, Lake and Pincus's study demonstrates the difficulties presented in locating the beginnings of modernity and of the bourgeois public sphere, especially as the dynamic they have identified is arguably present in virtually any period of history. When publics and counterpublics are both created and suppressed by those in authority, it becomes difficult to define their origins and their development.

As I will demonstrate, royalists and parliamentarians endeavored to influence public opinion through the appropriation of similar narratives, which blurred the distinctions between monarchical and parliamentary authority. In so doing, all forms of authority could be questioned. In examining the "paper stage" (plays and play pamphlets printed for a suspended theater) in relation to civil war discourse, I will show the diversity of the public sphere and modes of public making in the context of mid-seventeenth-century political discourse. The paper stage represents an interesting case study for the formation of publics because it appears to be politically neutral. However, I will show how the apparently politically neutral act of printing plays can become a way to emphatically engage with civil war discourse. This in turn demonstrates how both factions complicate civil war discourse by using similar modes as a way to create and dismantle publics, which emphasizes the fluidity between page and stage as sites of performance and the importance of narrative in the formation of publics. Finally, I will examine the public sphere as the space for the development (and the fictionalization) of the individual. First, I will outline what the "paper stage" embodies.

THEORIZING THE PAPER STAGE

Habermas's notion of the emergence of a unified bourgeois public sphere has inspired many scholars, who have demonstrated the importance of Habermas's ideas when considering textual transmission during the English Civil War.⁷ For many of these critics, the circulation of text in the marketplace becomes the prime site for the making of publics. Despite this influence, Habermas has not been without his detractors. While historians have questioned Habermas's lack of attention to historical detail, other commentators have voiced dissatisfaction with the very notion of the unified public

sphere.⁸ These criticisms do not so much negate Habermas's theories and the application of these ideas to seventeenth-century literary history and culture; rather they emphasize that debates regarding publics are ongoing as critics endeavor to define what publics might embody.

The printing of drama occupies an ambiguous space within these discourses. For Habermas, public making comes late to the theater and only as a consequence of shifting cultural attitudes in the eighteenth century. By examining the material text as a performative mode, I will show that the political conditions of the mid-seventeenth century meant that drama played an active and tangible part in the formation of publics. Precisely because the playhouses were closed, drama became important to the ways in which publics were conceived.

In her seminal study of pamphlet culture in early modern England, Alexandra Halasz pushes for the primacy of pamphlets and commerce in contributing to the emergence of the public sphere. Drawing from Habermas, Halasz argues that enacted drama assumes a role in the marketplace different from that of the more concrete presence of the printed play text.⁹ While this argument is insightful in terms of locating the place and function of print within the marketplace and the emerging public sphere, the removal of plays from playhouses poses further questions regarding oral and literate cultures. As Steven Mullaney argues elsewhere in this volume, the reading of the printed text can be as much an event as the watching of a play. While they may be two very different experiences, the reader/author engages with the text/performance for a fixed period of time. Memory, whether of the performed drama, or of reading the text, renders both experiences fixed in time and space, and privileging one over the other fails to account for the fluid interplay between oral/aural and literate cultures.¹⁰ I will not go into details regarding Habermas's engagement with the early modern stage, as Mullaney deftly discusses this elsewhere in the volume. However, it is worth adding that Habermas's misconception of the Elizabethan public playhouse as a space frequented by authority figures is not as problematic when it comes to the Restoration stage. In the first decade of the Restoration, the court visited the public theaters and many courtier playwrights wrote for the restored stage. As numerous critics have assumed, this might suggest that the restored stage was closely aligned to the restored throne and theatrical production became a site (and sight) of authority for the restored regime.¹¹ These ideas partially endorse Habermas's assertion that, "under the Stuarts, up to Charles II, literature and art served the representation of the king."¹² However, the theater could be used—and was used—as a place of dissent.¹³ In this respect, the restored theater was not different from the pre-Restoration stage, and print culture in the mid-seventeenth century continued this ambiguous relationship with authority.

Printing and performance are both forms of public making. Publishing text is a way to publicly disseminate ideas and contribute to debate in the

public sphere. This was as true in the early modern period as it is now. The printing of newsbooks demonstrates the importance of print during the Civil War. A precursor to the modern newspaper, newsbooks were initially published sporadically, with the more successful newsbooks later printed on a weekly basis. The booklets comprised eight to sixteen pages and detailed the weekly news. During the Civil War they generally detailed military campaigns and political events. They circulated widely, though news would often be old by the time it reached the provinces. Between 1640 and 1660, the London bookseller George Thomason collected over seven thousand newsbooks, which testifies to the volume of newsbooks that were printed in the period. Some were printed at parliamentary command and others were printed with the endorsement of the crown as each side sought to win the war of words as well as the physical war. Some newsbooks were printed without the consent of parliament or the monarch, but all combined proto-journalism with rumor and political bias.¹⁴

In England, official endeavors to contain printing through censorship broke down. The pressures of the political and commercial moment meant that censorship became fractured. The Stationers Register was the primary means through which ownership of copy was asserted, regulated and controlled. Its charter permitted it to refuse the publication of unlicensed books and seize illicit copy. Ironically, the Stationers Register, the means through which control of copy could be asserted, can also become a means of testifying to the effectiveness of print as a form of public making; its endeavor to index licit copy points to the efficiency of publishing as a way to circulate ideas. Newsbooks and other forms of pamphleteering undermined regulatory authorities, but drama could also be appropriated as a form of textual protest.

While Habermas may question the place of the early modern theater in the bourgeois public sphere, the printed play—and performed drama—was used to produce a space for public debate. The play pamphlet in particular became an important vehicle through which to voice discontent with the political order. Play pamphlets draw from newsbooks in their topicality and characteristic brevity, but they also appropriate the format of the play text.

Although some playhouses intermittently functioned in the 1640s and 1650s, there is little evidence to suggest that play pamphlets were performed.¹⁵ Part newsbook, part play, this satirical form arose from the political and cultural moment of the Civil Wars.¹⁶ The layout of some of these play pamphlets has some affinity with dialogues (a textual mode that has no connection with the stage), while other play pamphlets contain stage directions and woodcuts that provide a visual image to accompany the textual narrative. Through these additions, some play pamphlets experimented with the visual, aural and oral possibilities of their composition. The prologue to *The Second Part of Crafty Cromwell* (1648) ends with this quatrain:

Here then with Candar; but be rul'd by me,
 Speake not a worde, what er'e you heare or see.
 For this Auther, bid me to you say,
 Heed live, to see this plaid another day.¹⁷

The author desires to see the play pamphlet performed another day, which suggests that it cannot be performed yet, but can be visualized upon the paper stage.¹⁸ The reference to hearing the text could allude to its being read aloud, which was the most common way of reading in the early modern period.¹⁹ Pamphlets operated in a way similar to ballads, circulating at the margins of print and oral culture, and were read and disseminated among the literate and the illiterate alike.²⁰ The reference to the oral potential of the play pamphlet could therefore allude to the cross-fertilization of drama and pamphlet culture.

Through the publication of play texts, drama continued to circulate and be received by audiences through the construction of paper stages. Performing plays may have been banned by statute, but the printing of plays proliferated in the 1640s and 1650s.²¹ The paper stage endeavored to present a unified sphere of rational debate, but, as we will see, the textual transmission of drama during the mid-seventeenth century was fluid and the paper stage was a far-from-coherent public space.

This textual theatrical space meant that drama was perpetuated in print, and it provided a literalization of Thomas Nashe's presentation of the relation between page and the stage. In his prefatory matter to the 1591 edition of Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, Nashe writes of the poem as a "paper stage," inviting the reader to cast his or her "curious eyes, while the tragicommodity of loue is performed by starlight."²² Describing "dusky robes, dipt in the ynke of teares,"²³ Nashe shifts between imagery that alludes to the stage and metaphors that invoke the page, a technique that presents Sidney's poem as functioning at the borders of dramatic and literary culture. Nashe follows the lead of Sidney's rhetoric to cast the reader as spectator on the starlit scene. Astrophil ("star lover") gazes upon Stella ("star") and the reader surveys the entire scene. The drama is punctuated by textual tears of ink. The material text conjoins with performativity and the reader becomes an audience to the drama that is staged in ink. By focusing upon the theatrical experience of reading, Nashe turns the page into a stage and the reader into an audience.

For Heinrich Plett, this portrayal of the paper stage presents early modern print culture as damaging the oral culture that preceded it. In his reading, print culture lacks some of the energy present in visual, theatrical representation and, to compensate, frontispieces and title pages from the early modern period sometimes contain elaborate pictorial representations that "speak to the eye." Combined with rhetorical poetics, pictorial images provide a way for the nondramatic text to show dramatic action.²⁴ The metaphorical interchange of page and stage in mid-seventeenth century drama

becomes literal. The materiality of the paper stage combines with the narratives that it presents to its readers; the paper stage is transformed into an abstract public space where social and political concerns may be articulated and fictionalized. Through the various printing strategies detailed below, some printed plays and a vast majority of play pamphlets in the mid-seventeenth century presented themselves as paper stages that offered textual and pictorial representations of the Civil War. Rather than marking the destruction of oral culture and, by extension, dramatic representation, the paper stage offers a place where drama may be silently vocalized. Readers are presented with a different mode of performance in which woodcuts provide the visual representations that were previously enacted upon the stage. The paper stage thus becomes an arena that simultaneously allows dramatic representation to hibernate until it can be reawakened in performative form and offers a platform where drama is staged in print.

VIEWING THE PAPER STAGE

The paper stage was used to give drama a material presence, but many plays were also printed for the first time during the 1640s. Included among these newly printed plays is the first folio of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's comedies and tragedies, which was printed for Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley in 1647. During the Civil Wars, Moseley appears to have specialized in printing royalist propaganda and preserving royalist texts.²⁵ The prefatory poems to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio read like an homage to cavalier culture, a culture that is deeply influenced by loyalty to the crown, separate from (and in opposition to) parliamentary discourses. The paratexts contains contributions from, among others, John Birkenhead, the editor of *Mercurius Aulicus* (the official royalist newsbook); Roger L'Estrange, the future Restoration censor; and cavalier poets such as Robert Herrick and Richard Lovelace.²⁶ Previously, Moseley had published some texts with Henry Herringman, who, after Moseley's death in 1661, purchased from his estate the copyright to some of Moseley's texts.²⁷ Unlike Moseley, Herringman does not seem to have focused upon printing royalist texts and was indeed responsible for the printing of the entertainments that were produced by Davenant during the Protectorate.²⁸ Moseley's and Herringman's printing presses therefore become the site of the printing of plays old and new. Their efforts demonstrate how practical considerations of material transmission directly affected production, despite the ongoing influence of ambiguous politics on the printing itself.

As Zachery Lesser has noted, not all publishers had a propagandist agenda.²⁹ The case of Herringman emphasizes this, and in so doing highlights that the paper stage can be mercantile as well as political. Although Herringman reproduced the paratexts from Moseley's edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's works when he brought out a second folio in 1679 and, in the Restoration,

had close connections with John Dryden (the poet laureate), political ideologies do not seem to have motivated Herringman's business decisions.³⁰ In the 1650s, Herringman printed dramas that celebrated Cromwellian foreign policy.³¹ At this time, he also printed texts by royalists.

However, because of the parliamentary ordinances against the theater, the very act of printing drama can become a political act, despite appearances to the contrary. Herringman's apparent political apathy is mirrored by some other publishers, where prefatory letters suggest that the printing of an old play text becomes what we might now consider a form of social anthropology. The fifth impression of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, printed in 1654 by William Leake, begins with a letter that plays with visual, oral and textual forms:

This Play so affectionately taken, and approved by the seeing Auditors, or Hearing Spectators (of which sort I take or conceive you to be the greatest part) hath received (as appears by the copious vent of four Editions, no lesse acceptance with improvement of you likewise the Readers, albeit the first Impression swarm'd with errours, proving it selfe, like pure Gold, which the more it hath been tryed and refined, the better is esteemed; the best poems of this kind in the first presentation, resembling that all tempting Minerall newly digged up, the Actors being onely the labouring Miners, but you the skilfull Triers and Refiners: Now consider how currant this hath passed, under the infallible stampe of your judicious censure, and applause, and (like a gainfull Office in this age) eagerly sought for, not onely by those that have seen it, but by others that have merely heard thereof.³²

The letter assumes that the play has gone into multiple editions precisely because it was well received in performance. Seeking to gain financial benefit from a past theatrical experience, the printed text is presented as a nostalgic memento of bygone performances. The text becomes an implicit critique of the policy to close the playhouses as it reminds the reading public that (by law) playgoing is no longer permitted. The circulation of four editions among the reading public does not supersede the staged event, but instead emphasizes the fluidity of movement between the stage and the page and the expectations Leake has regarding the reception of the drama by the readers. Leake asserts that the play was well received in performance and conceives that an appreciative audience would wish to purchase a copy of the play. The play is refined over the course of multiple editions; it is presented to new and future audiences who have the gift of appraising its artistic merit and could create their own individual performances through reading the play. By invoking an imagined rather than a real performance, the printer uses the paper stage as a way to entertain the reading public, but also as a way to keep drama circulating. The ordinance for theater closure means that staging drama on the page becomes a political act. Not only

does this present a causal connection between the stage and the page, it also harnesses the paper stage as a space of indeterminate location at the margins of textual, visual and oral cultures.

Whereas Leake suggests that printed drama is a type of entertainment that reimagines the public space of performance, other plays invoke the stage in more politically concrete ways to project dissatisfaction with the ordinance for theater closure. A number of plays printed in the 1640s and 1650s are prefaced with lamentations regarding the state of the playhouse and provide a platform for public debate regarding the political moment. The cavalier poet and playwright Aston Cokaine's prefatory poem to a collection of Caroline plays penned by Richard Brome and first printed in 1653 typifies these complaints:

Then we shall still have *Playes!* and though we may
Not them in their full Glories yet display;
Yet we may please our selves by reading them,
Till a more Noble Act this Act condemne.
Happy will that day be, which will advance
This Land from durt of precise Ignorance;

.....

Then the dull *Zelots*, shall give way, and flye,
Or be converted by bright Poesie.
Apollo may enlighten them, or else
In *Scottish Grots* they may conceale themselves.³³

For Cokaine, the paper stage is the temporary location for drama. Plays can be read until the time comes when they are permitted to be performed. The authority of the ordinance for theater closure is upheld within the play text, even if it was not enforced in the kingdom. Monarchy and the playhouse become implicitly connected as the poem looks to a future in which Scottish Covenanters (Presbyterians, who are perceived as zealously opposed to drama) return from whence they came and the ordinance for theater closure is repealed.

This engagement with print culture in the mid-seventeenth century creates the illusion of a unified space of opposition to parliamentary intervention in the performance of drama. However, this unified public space was populated by multiple voices. As I have been arguing, when play texts are printed with prefatory material, the paratexts operate in different ways. In the case of Moseley's edition of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio, the dedicatory verses point to cavalier culture because the texts are penned by prominent royalists; Leake's publications look to the profitability of printing plays, and Cokain laments the passing of the playhouse and celebrates the rise of the paper stage as a way for drama to continue. Other play texts take

on a more archaeological form, as is illustrated by a 1652 edition of John Ford's plays, printed under the collective title *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies and Tragaedies*. In this volume, the reprint of *The Lovers Melancholy* is reproduced with the original title page, complete with the 1629 date of publication. The original letter to the reader and commendatory verses are also reproduced.³⁴ While an older, unsold text might simply have been bound together with more recently printed material as a way to make it saleable, it is presented to the reading public as a new edition. Here, the paper stage is used to document a past textual event. Whereas other textual productions flirt with performance to produce a new form of textual space for public debate, the Ford edition does not engage in Civil War discourse. Instead it invokes performance by retaining the play in its temporal moment: representational absence becomes a form of presence, which only emphasizes that the playhouses had been closed. Publishers therefore appropriated the paper stage for different reasons, making it a space of multiple discourses.

The paper stage complicates the Habermasian notion of private people coming together and creating a space for rational public debate. Habermas argues that the turn of the eighteenth century marks a change in the way in which individuals engaged with political discourse. Superseding a passive engagement with authority, people were now "endeavoring to influence the decisions of state authority . . . [by appealing] to the critical public in order to legitimate demands."³⁵ While the paper stage does create a space from which to engage with the critical public, this space is fictional and, rather than legitimating demands, presents an image of culture and counterculture. In presenting such an image, writers construct enduring images of royalists and parliamentarians. These fictive publics emphasize the importance of storytelling and narrative when projecting ideas into the public sphere.

Storytelling is important to Hannah Arendt's theories of public making. Arendt argues that the public realm is always political, and that action within this politicized realm is important to processes of identity formation. Arendt stresses that action requires freedom, or natality (the capacity to begin) and plurality. "Plurality," Arendt writes, "is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live."³⁶ Because humans have individual identities, plurality is essential to the human condition: multiple perceptions and interpretations bind but also divide discourses in the public realm. For Arendt, the very word "public" has a plural meaning: it signifies the world, but also the fact that all things that appear in public can be seen, heard and experienced by a multitude.³⁷ When experiences are brought into the public realm they are de-privatized and take on a collective meaning:

The most current of such transformation occurs in storytelling and generally in artistic transposition of individual experiences. But we do not need the form of the artist to witness this transfiguration. Each

time we talk about things that can be experienced only in privacy or intimacy, we bring them out into a sphere where they will assume a kind of reality which, their intensity notwithstanding, they could never have had before. The presence of others who see what we see and hear what we hear assures us of the reality of the world and ourselves.³⁸

Publics are located in shared sensory experience, and more importantly in language and the communication of experience. Storytelling, in particular, de-individualizes experience, allowing it to assume an appearance in the public realm. While artistic creativity is a prime means of storytelling, any kind of relation is a form of storytelling. Through storytelling, fiction and politics conjoin. The printing of play texts in the 1640s and 1650s established a platform through which experience (whether fictional or real) could be made public.

The play text thus produced an unfixed public space, but play pamphlets emphatically entered Civil War discourse. These play pamphlets extend the paper stage and use it as a platform through which to dramatize grievances. In so doing, play pamphlets often construct enduring (yet reductive) images and frequently project a fictional rendering of prominent political figures. In particular, the paper stage was deployed to produce impressions of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell that habitually made assumptions about private motives within the public realm.³⁹ While the regicide proved redemptive for Charles's public image, Cromwell was increasingly portrayed as a scheming Machiavellian by royalists and radical republicans alike. The saint and martyred king met his polar opposite in the portrayal of a demonic Lord Protector. In *The Picture of a New Courtier* (1656), a supporter of "the good old cause" (the ideal of universal suffrage in a republic) used the paper stage to attack Cromwell. We are presented with a dialogue between Mr. Plain-heart and Mr. Timeserver. Lamenting Cromwell's behavior, Plain-heart lists the misdemeanors he perceives the Lord Protector to have committed since assuming office:

First, his imprisoning of men contrary to law, at his own will and pleasure. . . . Secondly, the King assumed a power to levy money upon the people without their consent in Parliament, and in this *Cromwell* is not wanting; for where the King raised a shilling without consent in Parliament, he raiseth ten to maintain himself and family. . . . Thirdly, the King dissolved but two Parliaments in 20 years, but this strange Monster have destroyed 3 in lesse than 3 years. . . . Fourthly, the King sent out Fleets and Armies, with out consent in Parliament . . . for all which he was judged an Offender, and lost his head as a Traytor to the Commonwealth: but in this, O.P is not behinde his Predecessor (except in the punishment). . . . Fiftly, the King stoped the free course of Law, that so his tyranny and Oppression might be the better hid from the eyes of men; and in this O.P hath kept pace with the King.⁴⁰

Plain-heart presents a vision of a tyrant. Cromwell has succeeded in oppressing the nation to a greater degree than his monarchical predecessor. *The Picture of a New Courtier* presents an image of Cromwell in which the latter's plans for personal aggrandizement can only lead to national destruction. The reality of the climate of 1656 suggests that Cromwell did adopt some oppressive measures to maintain political stability; however, he also implemented some tolerant legislation and followed a fairly shrewd foreign policy. While the initial warring with Spain (which is alluded to in the fourth charge Plain-heart levies against Cromwell) was ill-advised, Cromwellian policy proved effective in other areas.⁴¹ The play pamphlet inverts panegyric to produce a negative image of a tyrant who usurped parliamentary/republican rule.

Royalists also appropriated this type of literary presentation for political ends. For Laura Lunger Knoppers, these pamphlets are an ideal way to gain in print the victory over Cromwell that his detractors failed to achieve in reality. However, Knoppers concedes that some of these representations contributed to republicanism by creating popular images of Cromwell.⁴² Through appropriating drama to produce fictionalized versions of Cromwell, Charles and other prominent mid-seventeenth-century figures in print, the authors of play pamphlets were emphatically entering into political discourse and offering a commentary upon the Civil War period. Arendt argues that the public realm is a place where the individual can develop, but this appearance in the public realm is complicated by our perception of one another: "This disclosure of 'who' in contradistinction to 'what' somebody is . . . is implicit in everything somebody says and does . . . it is more than likely that the 'who', which appears so clearly and unmistakably to others, remains hidden from the person himself."⁴³ Self-reflection and self-presentation become clouded by the reinterpretation and re-presentation of public figures within the public sphere. By fictionalizing prominent mid-seventeenth-century individuals, the paper stage provides alternative narratives of their actions within the public realm. This establishes a complex relationship between self-perception, other-perception and the lack of control individuals have over the perception of their identities once they have been made public.

This sense of the de-privatization of individuals within the public realm is emphasized in the publication of *Eikon Basilike* (1649). This text was published soon after the execution of Charles I, and was presented to its reading public as the private reflections of a suffering king who is martyred for the sake of his people. It went into multiple editions and achieves the impression of making private meditations public partly by drawing from piety tracts to present a subjective monarch, but also by presenting (in some editions) a frontispiece that shows Charles relinquishing his earthly crown for a heavenly one. Even texts such as these are not immune to the instability of text, context and individual interpretation. John Milton famously attacked the frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* as being "drawn out in the full

measure of a Masking Scene, and sett there to catch fools and silly gazers.”⁴⁴ Milton’s criticism of *Eikon Basilike* has been afforded much critical attention, but David Loewenstein tellingly highlights the way in which Milton attempts to negate the sense of the text’s function as a private meditation by aligning the frontispiece with public performativity.⁴⁵ While *Eikon Basilike* was presented to its reading public as the private meditations of the decapitated king, the very act of printing undermines this subjectivity and deprivatizes the act of meditation. Every form of public representation thus becomes an act of misrepresentation. When considering *Eikon Basilike*, this tension becomes more fraught as its authorship was continuously disputed and discredited from its moment of publication.⁴⁶ The public sphere becomes the site not just of the development of the individual, but also the place where the individual may be debated and reinterpreted.

Play pamphlets, like devotional tracts, presented textual representations of individuals, but the performativity of drama means that the textual representations are enacted differently. Milton’s critique of *Eikon Basilike* seeks to translate it into a performance precisely because drama has different resonances in the public realm. However, it also demonstrates fluidity in ways of perceiving generic constructs. This fluidity means that play pamphlets could be used to produce counterimages to official proclamations, declarations and meditations. Some play pamphlets also have an interest in theatrical culture and the playhouse, which emphasizes how the ordinances for theater closure blurred the distinction between politics and drama to an extent that was unprecedented.

Play pamphlets reached audiences who were familiar with drama. The readers understood the conventions of a play and could therefore respond to the images the play pamphlets produced. This form had a prehistory in the 1630s with the circulation (and possible performance) of play pamphlets that attacked William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his reforms in church worship.⁴⁷ To voice displeasure against the king, in 1643 parliament sponsored the publication of *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized*, a translation of George Buchanan’s *Baptistes sive Calumniæ* (c. 1542), a tragedy that narrates the demise of John the Baptist. *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized* toys with performativity on the page as opposed to the stage by including a list of “persons speaking” after the title page.⁴⁸ This emphasizes that royalists were not the only faction to appropriate the paper stage as a means of forwarding a political agenda. The publication of *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized* coincided with the issuing by parliament of parliamentary speeches, newsbooks, trial accounts and satires. As Elizabeth Sauer points out, these publications encourage play reading and merge the political and theatrical stages through the staging of debates.⁴⁹ The paper stage is a space where writers may voice and enact political grievances.

This emphasizes the continuity between the pamphlet form as a disseminator of news, libel and satire and the theatricality of this type of writing;

drama and satire are used to create polemic. Authorship seems of little concern to these writers: the title page of the first part of the antiparliamentarian play pamphlet *Craftie Cromwell* (1648) claims that it was penned by Mercurius Melancholicus, the journal name of the pamphleteer who penned the infamous royalist *Mistris Parliament* pamphlets,⁵⁰ although another author may have borrowed the pseudonym.⁵¹ As Joad Raymond speculates, the “shared cause” of royalism may have taken precedence over authorial continuity, offering a plausible explanation for the inconsistent use of pseudonym.⁵² This highlights an ambivalence regarding literary authorship and an endeavor to present a coherent and unified satirical narrative of events through the appropriation of pen names. The spatial fluidity of the paper stage is echoed by authorial fluidity, despite this attempt at using satire to create consensus within the public sphere.

Official and unofficial textual interventions added to this fluidity. Not all tracts that supported the crown were printed by official royal printing presses. The contribution of other royalist “voices” to the pamphlet wars adds nuance to the official line found in royalist newsbooks, which emphasizes that the desire for a unified identity is complicated by the plurality of action within the public realm. The newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus* was printed from 1643 to 1645 with the support of the crown,⁵³ but other texts, including tracts that were printed by parliamentarians and play pamphlets, have contributed to reductive images of what it meant to be a royalist (and, conversely, a parliamentarian) during the period. While authors may have shared tropes to influence royalist and parliamentarian opinions, these tropes were appropriated in different ways: the royalist/parliamentarian discourse is not as stable as contemporaries and later critics have suggested. In spite of this, the crude pamphlets produced during the Civil Wars and the contributions to this pamphlet culture by people associated with them—whether as the authors, printers, readers or subjects of these texts—increasingly gained cultural verification.

The use of satire helped to create stereotypical images of royalists and parliamentarians. Satire has long been used as a tool of opposition.⁵⁴ Throughout the early Stuart period, libels were written against royal favorites such as Robert Carr and his wife Francis Howard, who were both sensationally implicated in the poisoning of the courtier and author Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613.⁵⁵ Another royal favorite made a rare appearance at the playhouse in an attempt to silence the satirists and quell a growing tide of negative opinion: shortly before his assassination in 1628, Robert Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, attempted to rehabilitate his public image by authorizing and attending a performance of William Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII* at the Globe. His intention was to establish a connection between himself and the noble Buckingham of the play, but this attempt to influence public opinion went horribly wrong as the audience read the semiotics of Villiers’s attendance at the performance differently and aligned the hapless duke with negative representations of Cardinal Wolsey.⁵⁶

Mid-seventeenth-century commentators drew from this use of satire. *Leicester's Commonwealth* (a libel against Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and favorite of Elizabeth I, which first circulated under a different title in the 1580s) was reprinted in 1641, suggesting that an awareness of this inheritance of late Tudor and early Stuart satire influenced the writing of tracts in the 1640s.⁵⁷ Under the editorship of John Birkenhead, *Mercurius Aulicus* used satire in its representation of parliamentarians.⁵⁸ However, to describe the way in which royalists used satiric tropes to defend the court and attack parliament as merely borrowing satiric techniques underestimates the complexity of the treatment of satire in play pamphlets and newsbooks. Satiric imagery in older libels was continually reused and reappropriated in the period to comment upon topical events, and this suggests a connection with the past.⁵⁹ In using satire to uphold tradition, royalists flirt with what Ronald Paulson has identified as a conservative element within the development of satire. "Depending on its emphasis—whether it is on nonconformity and deviation of the false society from old norms, or on its rigidifying of the old ways—the satire can be conservative or revolutionary, its aims to attack, release or to use it as a foil to stultification."⁶⁰ While these observations are useful in considering royalist satire, they are complicated by the use of satire in the different genres: although biased, news claimed a basis in fact, a claim that hyperbolic libels and play pamphlets did not need to make.⁶¹ Satire is used in different ways in the different texts: in newsbooks, it is appropriated to give a biased interpretation of factual occurrences; in play pamphlets, it is used to distort, fictionalize and reenact events as a way to rewrite historical narrative. In rewriting historical narrative, past events can be revised: the past can be presented as writers believed it ought to have been and not as it necessarily was. Despite these sentimental and nostalgic elements within the appropriation of satire, it can be used less to uphold conservative values and more to protest against the present moment. Because of this tension between fiction and nonfiction, the extent to which satire is conservative or revolutionary becomes ambiguous. Satire was constantly being recycled and appropriated as a form of political commentary, but it was also used to tell stories. This emphasizes the fluidity and plurality of language, and the pliability of the paper stage.

In identifying the origins of this kind of satire within popular culture, Nigel Smith and others have argued that a language was created in opposition to authority.⁶² However, defining what this authority is becomes difficult during the Civil War. In being loyal to the crown, royalists were disloyal to parliament. Equally, parliament contained people who were not necessarily against monarchical government, even if they opposed Charles I's leadership. Due to this dissent in the body politic, satire ceases to be used to attack authority, but instead can be a form of defense against criticism. Rather than being a language of opposition, satire offered a language of dissent and a way to present multiple perspectives, all of which contributed to the web of Civil War discourse. Indeed, many royalists and

parliamentarians occupied the middle ground, and responded to the events of the mid-seventeenth century in multiple and varying ways.⁶³ All of this indicates the difficulty of identifying supporters of the royalist or parliamentarian causes in an age when there were no political parties and an individual's political beliefs could be complex, contradictory and shifting.

As a consequence of this, the idea that these pamphlets gave voice to a "language of opposition" is problematic. When those supportive of the crown and those in favor of parliament both believe they are upholding the traditional values, order and government of England, it is difficult to identify what is being subverted. Nevertheless, these pamphlets often use satire to attack a type of authority, whether it is considered royalist or parliamentarian.⁶⁴ The focus of the satire shifts to condemn whichever authority figures are perceived by the writer of the satire to be abusing their power. These shifts in iconography only emphasize the confused political perspectives of the period and a desire to establish some form of coherency and unity through appropriating satire and dramatic conventions as a way of addressing politics in church and state.

This confusion is brought into focus by the use of woodcuts in several play pamphlets printed in the summer of 1659 that deal with Oliver Cromwell's death and imagined afterlife. Some of these play pamphlets reunite the ghost of the saint and martyred king with a demonic incarnation of Cromwell. Most of these pamphlets include a woodcut of ghostly figure(s) covered in a winding sheet and wielding a flambeau. For Knoppers, this is part of a shifting iconography in the wake of Cromwell's death, funeral and the months succeeding these events.⁶⁵ It also supplies an image to enhance the drama played out on the paper stage. The paper stage plays with visual, oral/aural and literate cultures as a way of conveying meaning. However, this meaning is not fixed and is subject to continuous reappraisal. This only emphasizes the uncertainty of the political moment and how contemporaries sought to comprehend these events. Narrative and storytelling are important vehicles through which to allow views to take on a collective meaning, but pictorial representation attempts to concretize the abstract by providing a fixed visual image. The image provides a focal point for the narrative, but this attempt to consolidate thought is destroyed by the processes of print production.

Some of these woodcuts are ambiguous, which allows the reading public to interpret and respond to these images in multiple ways. The frontispiece to *A Dialogue Betwixt the Ghosts of Charles the I Late King of England: And Oliver the Late Usurping Protector* (1659) does not state which image represents Cromwell and which is of Charles. However, the larger nose of the left-hand image suggests an allusion to Cromwell's famously large protuberance. The partial nudity of the image on the left may also be an attempt to denigrate Cromwell by aligning him with radicals who publicly went naked.⁶⁶ Interestingly, this suggests that the woodcut used to define Charles in 1659 was, in 1661, recycled to portray John Bradshaw (the lord

president of the high court of justice that presided over Charles's trial) in the frontispiece to *A New Meeting of Ghosts at Tyburn*. Furthermore, the same frontispiece is used in *A Messenger from the Dead* (1658), a play pamphlet that stages a conversation between the ghosts of Charles I and Henry VIII. Not only does the iconography of Cromwell's death and funeral alter in the buildup to (and the aftermath of) the Restoration, but the ghostly images of a martyred king (and a not-so-blessed monarch) were reused to illustrate a regicide. While this redeployment was probably motivated by the practicalities of the economics of printing rather than a political statement, it demonstrates the ephemeral nature of this type of imagery and how easily woodcuts were manipulated to provide an alternative meaning in the eighteen months succeeding Cromwell's death.

THE PAPER STAGE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The visual, oral and aural possibilities presented by the paper stage demonstrate that the Habermasian notion of the public sphere as a site of inclusive critical discussion—the notion of communicative action that was to underpin much of Habermas's later writing—becomes an ideal that ultimately cannot be sustained given the multiple pressures from individual participation within the public realm. While the shared use of pseudonyms by royalists and a shared royalist cause point to a unified sphere, the desire for unity itself becomes a staged event that collapses under the multiple voices that interpret and reinterpret the roles of various individuals in Civil War discourse.

The fabricated unity of the public sphere is undermined by the plurality of voices and perceptions that are generated by the very act of making publics. Assumptions made by those instrumental in the production of play texts and play pamphlets regarding audience sensibilities combine with the refiguring of prominent figures upon the paper stage (and the presence or absence of paratexts to printed plays). This is further distorted by the individual interpretations of the readership. The striving for unity becomes what Emmanuel Levinas, in conceiving selfhood, intersubjectivity and interactions with another person, considers to be a form of homesickness:

The unity of the One in fact excludes all multiplicity, even that which is already adumbrated in the distinction between thinker and thought, and even in the identity of the identical conceived in the guise of consciousness of self where, in the history of philosophy, it would one day be sought.

But the intelligence that is the intelligence of multiple ideas, which it reaches in act, is not absolutely separated from the One because of that multiplicity itself: that multiplicity remains a nostalgia for the One, a homesickness.⁶⁷

Levinas's notion of the interaction between the "I" and the other is useful when considering plurality and the public sphere. For Levinas, the "I" first understands itself in relation to the other: ethics is predicated upon a face-to-face interaction with another being, and "I" always senses responsibility toward the other. The project of monism will always fail due to the heteronomy of existence.⁶⁸ Arendt's notion of plurality as central to the human condition is, in Levinas, placed under stress as the unity of the self also comes under scrutiny. Self-perception, other-perception and homesickness for an unattainable unity form the basis of an intersubjective, phenomenological notion of ethics. By locating ethical discussions within this framework, Levinas is gesturing toward a heterogeneous public sphere based not upon rational debate but upon mutual responsibility. However, "responsibility" itself is open to interpretation: having a sense of responsibility could imply a sense of debt or obligation toward another person, but it could also indicate blameworthy or praiseworthy action. Mutual responsibility could signify culpability as much as it suggests peaceful coexistence. The false unity of the public sphere that is implied by the paper stage becomes a form of homesickness for a unity that never was nor will be. For royalists, this homesickness manifests itself as a striving for unity in storytelling and the possibilities that the paper stage presents for representing a nation unified by the monarch and order in the body politic. The interventions of parliamentarians, combined with the lack of coherency in the representations penned by royalist writers, result in the fracturing of this desire for unity. Instead, the paper stage is appropriated in multiple ways for the edification of its reading public.

Those who made use of the paper stage endeavored to present a unified public sphere. This stage provided a platform where rational beings could appropriate drama as a way to present a language of opposition but also enabled the circulation of plays in print that were banned in performance. However, in reality, the reading public was introduced to multiple discourses that were pliable, fluid and constantly open to reinterpretation, reappropriation and reinvention. The abstract public space that has been created is used in different ways. Whether acknowledging the function of the play text as recording a past theatrical event, desiring to profit from the textual reproduction of plays that were well received in performance, lamenting the closure of the playhouse or adopting satire and dramatic conventions as a way of creating a language of opposition, the strategies employed in the production of the paper stage became increasingly distorted under the weight of their own rhetoric. Rather than a collapse into multiple publics, we are presented with multiple voices participating in the public sphere and challenging the collective assertion of unity. The paper stage both asserts and negates these theories of public space, as printers, writers and readers used the textual reproduction and appropriation of dramatic conventions for mercantile and political ends.

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NOTES

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2. *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, for the Utter Suppression and Abolishing of all Stage-Playes and Interludes* (London, 1648), sig. A3v.
3. *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623–73*, ed. N.W. Bawcutt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 223. See also, Lois Potter, ed., *The Revels History of Drama in English* (London: Methuen, 1981), 4:299.
4. See especially *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second by Lord Macaulay*, ed. Charles Harding Firth (London: Macmillan, 1913), 1:68–71.
5. Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Janet Clare, *Drama of the English Republic, 1649–1660* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
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7. See, for example, David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Marcus Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640–1660* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006).
8. Harold Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians,” *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000): 153–182; Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 1992), 109–142; Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics,” *Public Culture* 14 (2002): 49–90.
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10. See Stephen Mullaney’s chapter in this volume.
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12. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 32.

13. See my *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1647–1672* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming).
14. For an extensive study of the printing and circulation of newsbooks during the Civil War, see Raymond, *Invention*. For recent studies of censorship in the early modern period, see Cyndia Clegg's three volumes *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
15. For a study that outlines the type of performances that occurred while the theaters were closed, see Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928).
16. For discussions of play pamphlets, see Susan Wiseman, "Pamphlet Plays in the Civil War News Market: Genre, Politics and 'Context,'" in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999), 66–83; Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), esp. 70–92.
17. *The Second Part of Crafty Cromwell or Oliver in his Glory as Kind* (London, 1648), sig. A1v.
18. For a reading that argues for the performance, see Clare, *Drama*, 10. Raymond offers an alternative interpretation (*Invention*, 209).
19. Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 36.
20. See *ibid.*; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
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22. Thomas Nashe, "Somewhat to Reade for Them That List," in *Syr P. S. His Astrophel and Stella* (London, 1591), sig. A3r.
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28. *The Siege of Rhodes* (London, 1656); *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (London, 1658); *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1659).
29. Lesser, *Politics of Publication*, 40.
30. See Ferdinand, "Herringman, Henry"; *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (London, 1679).
31. Janet Clare, "The Production and Reception of Davenant's *Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*," *MLR* 89 (1994): 832–841; Wiseman, *Drama and Politics*, Chapter 6; Rachel Willie, *Staging the Revolution*, Chapter 3.
32. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Philaster, or, Love Lies a Bleeding* (London, 1652), sig. A2r.

33. Richard Brome, *Five New Plays* (London, 1653), sig. A2r.
34. John Ford, *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies and Tragaedies* (London, 1652), sigs. A2r–A4r.
35. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 57.
36. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8.
37. *Ibid.*, 50–52.
38. *Ibid.*, 50.
39. See especially Joad Raymond, “Popular Representations of Charles I,” in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 47–73; Rachel Willie, “Sacrificial Kings and Martyred Rebels: Charles and Rainborowe Beatified,” in “Poétique de la catastrophe? Représentations du régicide aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles en Europe,” special issue, *Etudes Epistémè* 20 (2011) (accessed December 29, 2012), <http://www.etudesevisteme.org/2e/?sacrificialkings-and-martyred>; and Willie, *Staging the Revolution*.
40. I.S., *The Picture of a New Courtier, Drawn in a Conference, Between Mr. Timeserver and Mr. Plain-heart* ([London]: 1656), sig. A2v–B1r.
41. Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 693–96.
42. Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print, 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Chapter 1, esp. 26–27.
43. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 179.
44. John Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Don M. Wolfe et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953–1982), 3:342.
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46. Jason McElligott, “Roger Morrice and the Reputation of the *Eikon Basilike* in the 1680s,” *The Library* 6 (2005): 119–132, esp. 121–122.
47. Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 234–250; Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 231–236.
48. *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized* (London, 1642 [1643]), sig. B1r.
49. Elizabeth Sauer, “Closet Drama and the Case of *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized*,” in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 80–95, esp. 85–86.
50. Four *Mistris Parliament* pamphlets were printed in 1648, namely: *Mistris Parliament her Gossipping*; *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation*; *Mistris Parliament Presented in her Bed, After the Sore Travaile and Hard Labour . . . in the Birth of her Monstrous Off-Spring, the Childe of Deformation*; *Mrs. Parliament her Invitation of Mrs. London, to a Thankesgiving Dinner*. Parliament, personified as a weak, feeble and heavily pregnant woman, is the focus of the narrative. She is figured surrounded by her gossips and easily beguiled by opportunists. Her long anticipated ‘child of Reformation’ proves to be a ‘child of Deformation’. Sexual politics and bodily deformity are used as a means through which to parody religious schisms and deformity in the body politic.
51. See Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writings: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12–16, on the

- problems of identifying authors of various journals and page 91 for the possible false attribution of the first part of *Craftie Cromwell*.
52. Raymond, *Invention*, 207. Raymond makes his comment with regard to authorial continuity in reference to the differing pen name of the sequel to the first part of *Craftie Cromwell*. The second part is written under the pseudonym Mercurius Pragmaticus.
 53. See *The English Revolution III: Newsbooks I: Oxford Royalist*, ed. Robin Jeffs et al., with notes by Peter Thomas, 4 vols. (London: Cornmarket Press, 1971), a facsimile edition of the Royalist newsbooks *Mercurius Aulicus*, *Mercurius Rusticus*, *Mercurius Anti-Britanicus* and *Mercurius Academicus*.
 54. See, for example, Andrew McRae, *Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, Chapter 9.
 55. See McRae, *Satire and the Early Stuart State*.
 56. For a full account of this event, see Thomas Cogswell and Peter Lake, "Buckingham Does the Globe: Henry VIII and the Politics of Popularity in the 1620s," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60 (2009): 253–278.
 57. Joad Raymond alludes to this in *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20–25.
 58. See P.W. Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead, 1617–1679: A Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).
 59. Adam Smyth, "'Reade in One Age and Understood I'th'next': Recycling Satire in the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69 (2006): 67–82.
 60. Ronald Paulson, *The Fictions of Satire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 18.
 61. McRae, *Satire and the Early Stuart State*, 26.
 62. Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, esp. 296–306.
 63. A glance at journals kept by parliamentarians that recorded Charles's attempt in 1642 to enter the Long Parliament and arrest five MPs emphasizes this. Roger Hill's entry for Tuesday, January 4, 1642, accuses Charles of storming the building, accompanied by a melee of "papists" and "ill-affected persons," with the intention of arresting the five, or to "fall upon the House of Commons and to cut all their throats" (*The Private Journals of the Long Parliament*, ed. Willson H. Coates et al. [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982], 1:12). Conversely, Simonds d'Ewes's more lengthy entries focus upon the episode as being a breach of precedent; d'Ewes is concerned with maintaining the balance in government between king and parliament, and his entries therefore lack an emotional reaction to events (*ibid.*, 1:14–22).
 64. Smith concedes that 'Satire was encouraged by, and played a significant role in, the defamation of *all* kinds of authority' (*Literature and Revolution*, 306).
 65. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 159–164.
 66. John Morrill has discussed Quaker nudity in his mapping of Quakerism's shift from radicalism to respectability; see Morrill, "The Suffering People: English Quakers and Their Neighbours c.1650–c.1700," *Past and Present* 188 (2005): 71–103.
 67. Emmanuel Levinas, *Entre Nous: On Thinking-of-the-Other*, trans. Michael B. Smith and Barbara Harshav (London: The Athlone Press, 1998), 134.
 68. *Ibid.*, 14, 85–88.

4 Place, Space and Public Formation in the Drama of the Spanish Empire

Margaret R. Greer

An attractive story—if perhaps not quite true—is that drama was reborn in Spain in the *annus mirabilis* of 1492, when the last Muslim kingdom in Iberia surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella, ending its long “reconquest,” when Columbus “discovered” a New World and when Juan del Encina supposedly performed his *Primera Égloga* in the palace of the Duke of Alba. Encina’s performance probably took place three years later,¹ and was not such a uniquely transformative event.² The story does have a deeper truth, however, in the synergy between the development of the Spanish empire and that of the vibrantly popular drama of Spain’s “golden age.” Italy was, of course, the wellspring of the spread of Renaissance culture across Europe, stimulating the renewal of theater with translations and commentaries on Aristotle’s *Poetics*, the example of Roman comedy,³ development of staging techniques in court theater and the model for professionalization of theater in the travelling *commedia dell’arte* troops. The transit of those cultural stimuli was facilitated in the case of Spain by the inclusion of Sicily, Sardinia and Naples in the Crown of Aragón, Spanish control of the Duchy of Milan after 1540 and more general involvement throughout Italy in defense of its Mediterranean interests and of the “Spanish Road” to the Netherlands and Vienna.⁴

Although England and Spain had been traditional allies, with frequent royal intermarriages through that of Philip II and Mary Tudor, as inter-imperial competition for European hegemony and the exploitation of colonial possessions heightened, the two nations were at war during most of the “golden age” of their two theaters. Hostility toward English characters on the Spanish stage was all but nonexistent, as Don Cruickshank demonstrates in “Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits.”⁵ The brief scenes that constitute limited exceptions to Cruickshank’s depiction relate to military conflicts: (1) blaming a soldiers’ rebellion in Flanders on English sequestration of ships bringing them money and supplies in Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *Los amotinados de Flandes* (The Flanders mutineers), and (2) in the wake of the failed English attack on Cádiz in 1625, the insertion in both Lope’s *La moza del cántaro* (The Lass with the pitcher) and Tirso de Molina’s *Desde Toledo a Madrid* (From Toledo to Madrid) of an extended metaphor of the Spanish empire as a lion attacked by enemies that mistakenly thought

it asleep, but fled from its shadow or waking roar. (Lope specifically names the English; Tirso's generalized "enemies" implicitly include the Dutch, recently defeated at Breda and in Bahia.) However, on the other side of the North Sea, as Eric Griffin argues, escalating Hispanophobia in English drama after the 1588 Armada contributed to an enduring Black Legend that has blocked needed attention to their shared traditions.⁶

Yet as Walter Cohen pointed out in *Drama of a Nation*, the parallels between the English and Spanish public theaters are striking, despite their independent development.⁷ The *corrales* (public theaters) in Madrid and other Spanish cities were opened in the 1570s and 1580s, the same decades that witnessed the opening of London's extramural playhouses; they were, however, centrally located in the cities, more akin to the placement of London's boy companies, and more stably situated than Paris theaters. In Madrid, the *Corral de la Cruz* and the *Corral del Príncipe* were both close to the Plaza Mayor and the main commercial center, the Puerta del Sol.⁸ Similar too were the dispositions of the stage and audience in the *corrales* and the London theaters and the relatively broad social composition of the public that Lope de Vega characterized as the *vulgo*, or common people,⁹ implicitly opposing it to the *discreto*, the judicious, learned public. The

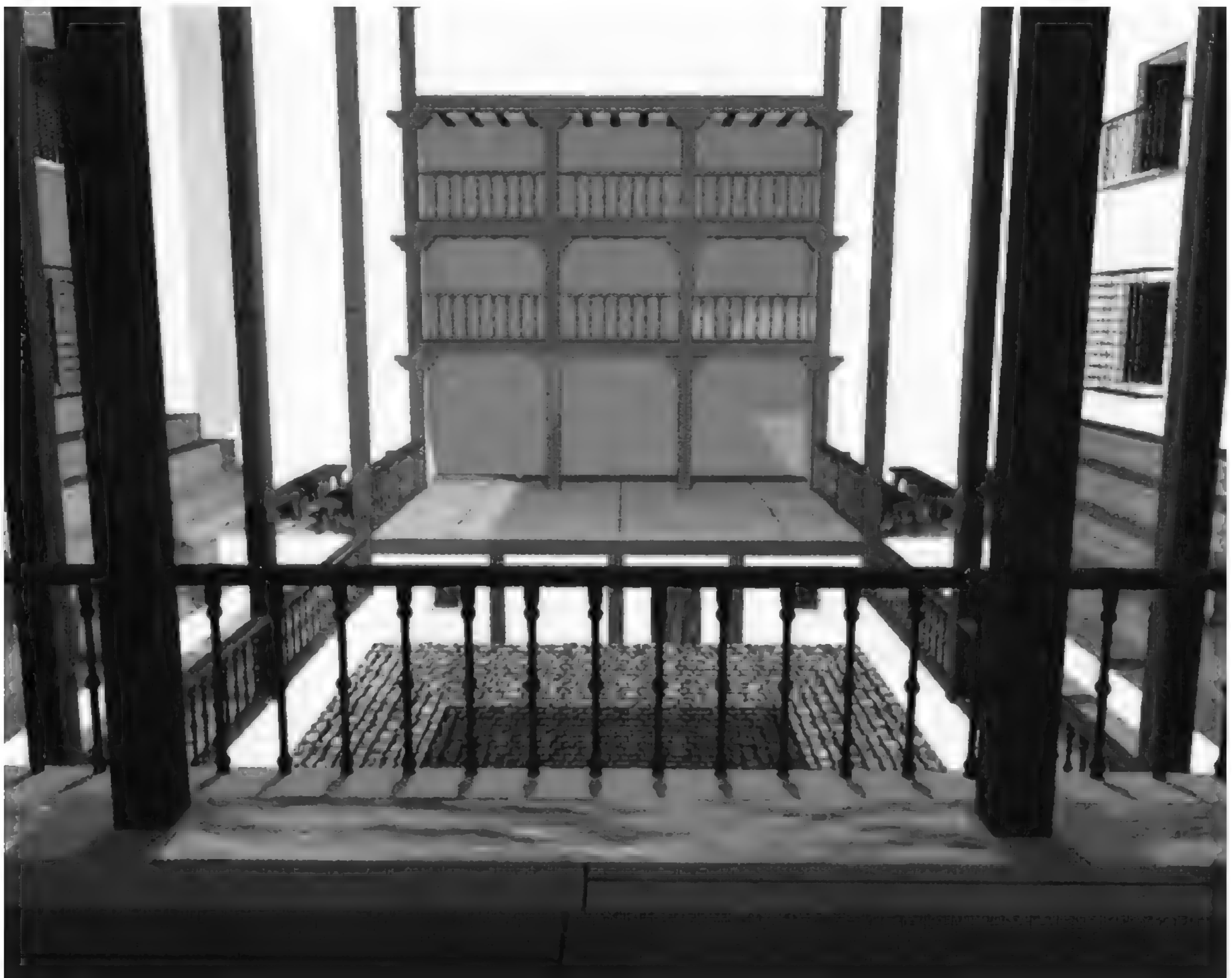


Figure 4.1 Virtual reconstruction of the *Corral del Príncipe*, viewed from the *cazuela*. © Manuel Canseco.

audience sat on three sides of the stage, or in the case of men paying the basic entry fee, stood in the patio, the equivalent of the pit. Better-heeled male spectators occupied benches along the sides, women sat in the second-floor *cazeuela* (stewpot) opposite the stage and tiring house, and the most affluent playgoers took seats in the windows and balconies opened out of the neighboring houses, where men and women could attend together.¹⁰

Despite the constant opposition of moralists and some clergy, the *corral* public also included *discretos*—intellectuals, clergy and artists, who often sat in an uppermost sector called the *desván* (attic) or *tertulia*, where part of the pleasure was critiquing the play.¹¹ By extension, *tertulia* came to mean a gathering of people to discuss a common interest, literary or otherwise, as in the French and Spanish academies (see below) and English coffeehouses.¹²

Like Elizabethan plays, Spanish *comedias*—a generic term applied to comedy, tragedy and tragicomedy alike—freely combined aristocratic and plebian characters and comedy and tragedy in the plays performed in the *corrales* and in court theater as well. Cohen attributes the parallels to the emergence of both Spanish and English public theater from the blend of native popular and neoclassic learned culture made possible by the nature of the transition from feudalism to capitalism and by the incomplete imposition of absolute monarchy. He contrasts this to France's rapid passage from fragmented feudal sovereignty to full absolutism and centralized power, which he says hindered development of public theaters and the blend of popular and elite traditions.

The role of theater in developing the “intersubjective publicness” that Steven Mullaney identifies in this volume and in defining civic space and community affiliation was as true for Spain as for London. William Egginton ascribes to early modern theater in both traditions a fundamental role in defining an interiorized subjectivity, modern epistemology and concept of abstract space.¹³ And as we will see, analyzing representative samples of early modern Spanish drama with the help of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, that drama played a significant role in shaping Spain's self-understanding as a nation and as an empire. The very divisions of *comedias* as defined by the early dramatist Torres Naharro (c. 1485–c. 1530) bespeak the social definition of space as Lefebvre describes its generation in a space-time experience radiated outward from the human body. Torres Naharro's brief “Prohemio” to the *Propelladia* in which his collected works were first published in Naples in 1517 and 1524 is, Joseph Gillet observed, “the oldest treatise on dramaturgy printed in Europe during the Renaissance,” and extremely significant.¹⁴ Without knowing Aristotle, Torres Naharro invented theatrical form intuitively, from his experience of human reactions, the patience or impatience of the public and the length that both actors and spectators could tolerate. On that basis, he recommended the division of *comedias* in five acts, which he called “jornadas” (a day's journey; act), “porque más me parescen descansaderos que otra cosa, de donde la comedia queda mejor entendida y rescitada” (because they seem to me more like resting places than anything

else, by which the play is better understood and performed).¹⁵ Thus, he translates the *jornada*, whose first meaning in Spanish is the distance a man can walk in a day,¹⁶ into the measure of the actors' work and the attention span of their public. Lope de Vega (1564–1634), who gave the *comedia* its enduring form in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, reduced the number of *jornadas* to three. Like Torres Naharro, he justified his independence from classical rules as appropriately in accord with the taste of his audience. In his 1609 *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (New art of composing plays in these times), Lope said, “Escribo por el arte que inventaron / los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron, / porque, como las paga el vulgo, / es justo hablarle en necio para darle gusto.” (I write according to the art invented by those who seek the applause of the crowd because, since the common people pay for them [the *comedias*], it's right to speak to them foolishly to please them.)¹⁷ The kind of literary discussion that Jürgen Habermas¹⁸ sees as an important semipublic practice for reasoned political debate in London coffeehouses and French academies also developed in Spain, but took a different long-term course, for reasons I will consider toward the end of this chapter.



Figure 4.2 Iberian cities with one or more *Corrales de comedia*. Map drawn by Anna Moll Dexeus.

However, there were at least three major factors that worked significantly different effects in the nature of place, space and public formations in and around the Spanish *comedia*:

- (1) the extensive theatrical network in the Peninsula and beyond, which gave importance to the production in and of spaces beyond those in Madrid that most resembled the London practices;
- (2) the continuing importance of Spanish religious theater; and
- (3) the effects of American gold and silver, in the short and long term.

The map above conveys some idea of the geographical extension of public theaters. It indicates twenty-eight Iberian cities and towns that had one or more permanent *corrales* throughout that period. Even little Tudela, Navarre, of about nine thousand residents, had a *corral* with a well-documented seventeenth-century history. There were undoubtedly more *corrales*, as well as frequent performances in less permanent locations, including frequent tours in Naples. By the end of the sixteenth century, *corrales* had been established in Mexico City, Puebla, Lima and Potosí, the silver-mining center in present-day Bolivia. Performances in these *corrales* played a central cultural role in Spain for almost 150 years, from the last two decades of the sixteenth century into the early eighteenth. The *comedias* performed therein evolved with their public, whose tastes both shaped and were shaped by that performance tradition. Lope de Vega, in particular, enjoyed a close relationship with several theater company owners (as well as his various actress lovers), supplying those he favored with plays and refining his art to maximize their mutual profits.¹⁹

The growth of this network of popular theaters was encouraged by two factors: (1) sixteenth-century prosperity stimulated by wealth from the Americas as well as trade with the Mediterranean and northern Europe, and (2) the same religious reform that brought about Elizabeth's suppression of the cycle plays and support of alternative entertainment in London's public theaters, and provoked the 1548 ban on religious plays in Paris. Seville and Valencia were important centers for the early development of popular theater in Spain. As merchant cities that prospered from trade with the Americas and the Mediterranean, respectively, they were open to new social and cultural developments. There and elsewhere in the Peninsula, popular religious theater was its most important forerunner. The Corpus Christi performances were particularly important in the growth of the theatrical institution. A symbiotic relationship between religious performances and popular secular theater developed, as cities and towns competed to present impressive celebrations with lavish costuming and the best actors. To ensure the presence of the best itinerant company to perform Corpus *autos*, municipalities allowed more frequent performances, beyond those on religious holidays, for a paying public whose growing taste for theater that company fed. Jesuit schools established in

many cities from the mid-sixteenth century also fed that taste, as they did in France. Their regular use of drama in Latin and sometimes the vernacular cultivated a wider familiarity with drama and integrated it into community life. And the arrival of Italian troupes in the 1560s and 70s, with their mix of comedies, *commedia dell'arte* and acrobatic performances, increased the repertoire and modeled professionalization of the theater. The center of the theatrical industry gradually shifted to Madrid after Philip II made it Spain's permanent capital in 1561, but it never achieved the dominance of London and Paris.

Material for the theaters was supplied by hundreds of dramatists, ranging from the genius of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Pedro Calderón de la Barca to others justly forgotten.²⁰ We have records of some seven hundred theatrical companies, twenty or more active in any one year; the number of those given a royal license to perform in Madrid rose from six in 1602 to twelve in 1608.²¹ The *Diccionario biográfico de actores del teatro clásico español* (DICAT)²² documents the careers of almost five thousand actors and actresses from the mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. The professionals also played in various court theaters—from private performances of *corral* plays to court spectacle plays with changing perspective scenery performed on occasions of state in the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro Palace. As well as owning boxes in the *corrales*, nobles sometimes hired the companies to stage performances in their residences, or put on amateur versions of plays, as did artisans or workers in the popular neighborhoods to celebrate special occasions.²³ And ragtag poor unlicensed players travelled to the smallest towns doing the same, providing the fodder for Cervantes's critical social satire in the comic *entremés*, *El retablo maravilloso* (The marvelous pageant).

The vast production of plays needed to meet the demand of all these theaters makes it hard to generalize about the creation of space in early modern Spanish drama. By the seventeenth century, Madrid predominated as a setting in the urban comedies of intrigue and "cape-and-sword" plays centered on the amorous relations of young nobles, but many were also set in other Peninsular and Italian cities. Palatine plays involving the amorous and political rivalries of high nobility were set in palaces, gardens and hunting reserves; peasant dramas had predominantly rural settings; biblical history plays were set in Palestine; and hagiographic and history plays had diverse settings in the Byzantine and Roman empires and the Americas.²⁴ Most studies of space to date have prudently focused on single works, individual dramatists or particular subgenres.²⁵ Lefebvre's dynamic categories of analysis and Edward Soja's reading of them, however, can help organize a more inclusive sampling, in accord with Lefebvre's understanding of space as being at once objective and subjective, material and metaphorical, the medium and the result of social life.²⁶ As Lefebvre puts it, "every society—and hence every mode of production with its subvariants . . . produces a space, its own space."²⁷ More explicitly, he says that:

social space contains—and assigns (more or less) appropriate places to—(1) the *social relations of reproduction*, i.e. the bio-physiological relations between the sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organization of the family; and (2) the *relations of production*, i.e. the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions.²⁸

What Lefebvre presents is, as Soja points out, a “trialectics” of spatiality between: (1) perceived space—that of material spatial practice; (2) conceived space, which Lefebvre calls representations of space; and (3) lived space, which he terms representational space.²⁹ Thus, the standard foci of descriptions of theatrical space—the spaces of representation and the spaces represented—are central to his analysis, not as polar opposites in the dialectical relation, but always with the addition of a third term that obliges us to consider the complex and dynamic relationship between them.

As theater semiotics show, and as Mullaney considers in his chapter in this volume, the creation of space on the theatrical stage involves a particularly complicated social construction. Even in the most realistic performances, the audience sees the stage action with a special kind of double vision that accepts and denies its reality—not the actual experience of the actors playing the roles, who have their own existence as Antonio del Prado, Mariana Vaca and Cosme Pérez—but of another “possible world,” “a spacio-temporal *elsewhere* represented as if actually present for the audience,” as Keir Elam put it.³⁰ The possible world of the drama is made accessible to spectators by its overlap with their actual world.³¹ Hence, the nature of this other possible world is necessarily conditioned by the particular experience of the spectators in whose minds it is constructed.³² It facilitates the same kind of dynamic transaction between virtual and actual subjects, virtual and actual spaces that Habermas envisioned in the reading of fiction, as Mullaney points out. Furthermore, in the prologue to a collected volume of his plays, “El Teatro a los lectores” (The theater to readers), Lope de Vega personifies the Theater itself to boast of its power to disseminate knowledge more effectively and efficiently than books:

No hablo de lo que me deben los oyentes, . . . las nuevas frases, locuciones, donaires, y otras infinitas diversidades de exornaciones en nuestra lengua, de mi se saben primero que de los libros, . . . con la facilidad que la pintura muestra más presto en un lienzo una batalla, que un coronista la refiere en muchas hojas. Soy estafeta brevísima de las sutiles y altas imaginaciones, que por la posta se las traigo al gusto por tan pequeño porte, y no contento de esto, también quiero que las gocen con más espacio, dándoselas impresas, como las presento en esta parte. Dichoso yo, que no veré la cara que les ponen allá en sus aposentos, como aquí en mis tablas, aunque quedo seguro que las defenderán, pues habiéndolas comprado, ya son más suyas que mías.³³

[I do not mention what listeners owe me, . . . that new phrases, expressions, witticisms, and other infinitely diverse expressions of our language are learned from me sooner than from books, . . . with the facility that painting on a canvas shows a battle more quickly than a chronicler relates it in many pages. I am a very speedy courier of the most subtle and elevated imaginings that I deliver to order posthaste for a small charge; and not content with that, I also want them to enjoy them at more leisure, giving them to them in print, as I present them in this volume. Happily, I will not see the faces that they put on there in their chambers, as I do here on my stage, although I remain certain that they will defend them, since having bought them, they are more theirs than mine.]

Jean Howard argues in *Theater of a City* that the London theater, emerging from a period of “spectacular demographic, economic and social change,” “was important in shaping how people of the period conceptualized or made sense of this fast-changing urban milieu.” An “intimate synergy” operated, she says, between London and the early modern commercial theater, which could not have arisen anywhere else in England.³⁴ The same cannot be said of early modern Spanish theater. First, because of the early and continuing importance of Valencia and Seville; second, because of the web of *corrales* on the Peninsular map. Although Madrid was also going through a period of rapid growth and change when its *corrales* were established and would come to be the nucleus of the commercial theater in the seventeenth century, touring to other cities and towns around the Peninsula was important for theater company solvency. Third, religious theater, through the annual performances for Corpus Christi, played a key role in the theatrical economy from its emergence in the 1530s through the seventeenth century.³⁵

Lefebvre’s perceived space or spatial practice “embraces production and reproduction”³⁶ and defines places, from the local to the global, from the trivialized spaces of everyday life to special spaces set apart symbolically as desirable or undesirable. Early modern Spanish spatial practice and local definition of place are most directly perceptible in urban comedies, albeit stylized by the conventions of the comedy of intrigue or the cape-and-sword play and the standard size and role assignments of the theater companies.³⁷ In their plots, typically centered on the amorous relations and rivalries of young members of the lower- to mid-nobility, the most salient spatial practice clearly related to social and biological reproduction is the separation of feminine and masculine space, within the house and between interior and street scenes. On the essentially bare stage of the *corrales*, the action could flow freely between these spaces, because scene changes were marked by the exit of all characters through one or two of the curtains in the tiring house that had been textually marked as doors leading to another space, whether the street or another room in the house. The next scene was then concisely

word-painted by entering characters, and this was at times supplemented by opening a curtain to reveal a painted scene or a few branches indicating a park or garden, for instance. Some *comedias*, however, do specify more material furnishing of interior scenes. For example, in Tirso de Molina's *Desde Toledo a Madrid*, Don Baltasar, newly arrived in Toledo, having killed an unknown assailant, takes refuge from arrest in an open house and finds himself alone in doña Mayor's luxuriously appointed bedroom and *estrado* (receiving room). Its furnishings are said to be physically present on stage, and they were certainly revealed by opening the curtain covering the discovery space in the tiring house that doubled as a dressing room for actresses. The furnishings thus constituted a literal as well as imaginative interior domestic space.³⁸

Stefano Arata points out that the alternation between exterior and interior spaces is characteristic of the Spanish model of urban comedy, in contrast to that of the fixed, perspectival street scene of erudite Italian comedy, where space takes priority over characters. In the Spanish model, the intrigue determines the space.³⁹ The house, meant to guard the honor of a marriageable young woman, also works as a kind of tomb for her, and the intrigue often centers on her efforts to escape the Argos-eyed patriarchal restriction therein to enjoy the pleasures of the (masculine) space of the street.⁴⁰ Belisa does so in Lope's *El acero de Madrid* (The Madrid cure) by feigning *opilación*, an illness that could only be cured by outdoor air and sights, according to the prescription of her *galán* Lisardo's lackey, disguised as a doctor.

Whereas the Madrid of Lope's first urban comedies was, like Latin and some London city comedies, aggressively realistic, even picaresque,⁴¹ setting lackeys, foreign merchants and their women in brothels, ovens and markets,⁴² by the seventeenth century Lope and his fellow dramatists staged a more courtly Madrid in the favored recreational and shopping locales of the upper classes, leaving the picaresque scenarios for novellas and chronicles. *El acero de Madrid* (The steel-water of Madrid), for instance, opens during the May 3 Festival of the Cross on Atocha, by the church of San Sebastián, the arrow-struck martyr who symbolized sexual desire, heterosexual as well as homosexual,⁴³ and later scenes word-paint the urbane arcade of the Prado with its many fountains, the Guadalajara gate at the head of Calle Mayor where stores that sold luxury fabrics clustered, the Soto, a summer picnic and bathing spot on the banks of the Manzanares river, the Casa de Campo and the plaza next to the gardens of Philip III's powerful favorite, the Duke of Lerma. These courtly sites are balanced, however, by comic characters who remind the audience of other, more popular urban facilities, particularly the taverns beloved of the *graciosos*. In *El acero*, Beltrán brings the lyrical flight of the *galanes'* descriptions of the verdant springtime beauty of the Prado down to earth with an apostrophe to the taverns of San Martín, the patron saint of winemakers, and to the vendors of bread, the French sellers of knickknacks, jams and brandy, clothes dealers and trash carts cleaning the streets.⁴⁴

If Lope de Vega created an equilibrium between external and interior scenes in urban comedy, Calderón was “the ingenious architect of domestic spaces.”⁴⁵ His domestic spaces are accordingly more complex, representing rooms other than the *estrado*, where the *dama* received guests, and her own room(s), those of her father and brother, closets and halls and their interconnections.⁴⁶ In two well-known Calderón comedies, *Casa con dos puertas, mala es de guardar* (A house with two doors is hard to guard) and *La dama duende* (The phantom lady), the crucial space is one that appears to the dazed *galanes* to be a labyrinthine relationship between at least two urban houses, but which the *damas* and the audience know to be just one house with a hidden door, a spatial practice devised to keep a marriageable sister hidden from a male houseguest. Both plays show a spatial practice in which feminine knowledge of domestic space affords women at least limited capacity to manipulate the house and its occupants and guests to their own ends. Tirso de Molina also built several comedies around other contiguous spaces between residences of its lower nobility in the urban architecture of an expanding Madrid: contiguous balconies in *Los balcones de Madrid* (The balconies of Madrid), a trap door between two floors in a multifamily structure in *En Madrid y en una casa* (In Madrid and in a house) and a subterranean passage in *Por el sótano y por el torno* (Through the basement and the revolving door).⁴⁷

Madrid, as the rapidly expanding court city, was the favored setting for urban comedies, and characters regularly warned arriving *forasteros* (outsiders) that it was a labyrinth in which new houses, palaces, monuments and streets continually appear, a dangerous “sea” that could drown the unwary. Yet a significant number were also set in other cities, particularly Seville, Toledo and Valencia, word-painted by reference to their best-known geographic or architectural features.⁴⁸ In *Los locos de Valencia* (Valencian madmen), Lope refers to the Cuart, a main entrance through its city walls, the Seo (cathedral) and the Miguelete, an octagonal tower joined to it, its river, its fertility and orange-blossom fragrance, and sets most of the action in front of or within its famous mental hospital.⁴⁹ He marks Toledo by its cathedral, its narrow, hilly streets and the hydraulic artifice invented by Juanelo Turriano to raise water from the Tajo River to the city. Seville, as the port for goods and passengers to and from the Indies, was evoked by the riches that passed through it and by the diverse peoples it drew. And Calderón sets *Casa con dos puertas* in Ocaña, a town that his drama constructs very differently from the one inhabited by the prosperous peasants that Lope dramatizes in *Peribañez y el comendador de Ocaña*.⁵⁰ Key in Calderón’s *comedia* is that Ocaña lies “two leagues” southwest of the royal estate and gardens at Aranjuez,⁵¹ and functions as something of a “suburb” of the court, as it draws courtiers following the king and queen to their spring and summer pleasure site. Lisardo has followed the court there, seeking the cross of one of the military orders as the reward for his service in Flanders. Calderón shapes the spaces of an urban, court-oriented Ocaña for a theater

audience not likely to know it: an opening scene by a convent on the outskirts, in which Marcela hails Lisardo on his way to Aranjuez and repeats that rendezvous on a daily basis; and an Ocaña in which Marcela is able to lose him between streets as he tries to locate her house. Calderón then has Marcela's brother Félix paint a picture of the royal gardens at Aranjuez, with crystalline fountains, flower-bedecked paths and statues, the loveliest being the beloved he finds there, showing Nature competing with art. She adds a description of a royal outing to the nearby marshes of the Mar de Ontígola. In a later reworking, probably for a 1635 court performance, Calderón also added an elaborate description of a royal bird-hunting scene on the banks of Tajo. John Varey posits that the *comedia*'s apparent socio-sexual disorder is contained by the framing image of an ideal royal couple and a beloved young queen about to give birth.⁵² Representations of space thus subtly explain and justify the society's social relations of reproduction, as Lefebvre asserts. The play notes its social relations of production in two other ways: that Lisardo and Félix met as students at the University of Salamanca, and that Lisardo served in Flanders, an important detail for a nobility whose privileges were justified by military service.

As well as reflecting perceived space, therefore, *Casa con dos puertas* displays the power of conceived space, which is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes."⁵³ These mental spaces are the representations of the dominant power and its ideology, as well as of utopian thought and the creative imagination of some artists and poets,⁵⁴ as Lope asserted in the prologue cited above. We might claim that such mental spaces were more often implicit than explicit in bare-stage *corral comedias*, were it not for references in a number of urban comedies to monarchical happenings or other subtle invocations of the reigning power structure. For example, during the years of the Duke of Lerma's ascendancy as Philip III's powerful favorite, for at least the first decade of the court's return to Madrid from Valladolid in 1606, the environs of the Duke's luxurious Madrid garden palace and other spaces of his power often figured in urban comedies.⁵⁵ In *La noche toledana* (The Toledan night), the event that has drawn the characters to spend the night in an inn is the lavish 1605 celebration of the birth of the future Philip IV. However, the codes of conceived space are much more clearly visible in court-spectacle dramas, not only in the hierarchical arrangement of the viewing public that saw such spectacles in the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro palace, with the king at its center in the ideal position to appreciate the perspectival scenery and others seated at a greater or lesser distance from him, in accord with their sociopolitical role,⁵⁶ but also in the scenery itself and the positioning of characters on stage. In this Baccio del Bianco drawing of the scene of Calderón's *Andrómeda y Perseo* we see the semidivine Perseus in the central acting space in front of a palace, raising Medusa's head, with mortal courtiers of Trinacria to the side, closer to the public—and downstage,

almost outside the set, Perseus's comic lackey Bato, who is pleading with Perseus not to throw her head in his direction.

We can identify the effect of the populous map of Spanish *corrales* both in the categories of spatial practice and conceived spaces, the practice of theater companies and the mental spaces of the publics they served. Whether a comedy was written first with a Madrid audience in mind or not, it had to engage other publics that would view it as the company took it on tour. Lope signed and dated the autograph manuscript of *La prueba de los amigos* (The test of friends) in Toledo, in 1604, setting the play in Madrid, yet in addition to the license for performance in Madrid, the manuscript contains licenses for its performance in Zaragoza, Murcia, Trujillo, Lisbon, Jaen and Córdoba between 1608 and 1612.⁵⁷ In the dramatic as well as the performance world, urban comedies often originate in another Peninsular locale and end in Madrid. Typical examples of such plots are those of Tirso's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (Don Gil of the green breeches) and *La villana de Vallecas* (The peasant woman of Vallecas), and Lope's *La moza del cántaro* (The lass with the pitcher), in which a young woman pursues a man who has seduced her with a false promise of marriage before leaving for the court in search of a courtly or more lucrative amorous employment. In others, a gallant *forastero* arrives at court in search of a position or



Figure 4.3 Baccio del Bianco, Stage Drawing, c. 1653. Pen and ink drawing. In Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómeda y Perseo* (Triumph of Perseus over Medusa). Collection of the Printing and Graphic Arts Department, Houghton Library, Harvard University MS Typ 258.

compensation for military services, as in Lope's *De cuándo acá nos vino* (How did this happen to us?). Another delightful Tirso *comedia* that is a virtual anticipation of the "road movie" is *Desde Toledo a Madrid*, which dramatizes the protagonists' trip through all the towns between those two cities. Such settings accurately illustrate conceived and perceived space in seventeenth-century Spain, in which the court was not only the nucleus of the empire, but also the magnet which attracted those seeking a socioeconomic ascent that had become difficult in other cities.

Henry Kamen has suggested that it was in the course of acquiring and defending the empire that "Spain" came to know itself as a nation, not in the modern sense of a nation-state, but in the earlier meaning of a people united by that process.⁵⁸ A considerable number of dramas in the several subgenres reflect this imperial self-understanding, in some cases by ranging widely around the empire in a single play.⁵⁹ The first version of the Don Juan story, *El burlador de Sevilla* (The trickster of Seville) is a well-known example.⁶⁰ The spaces of Don Juan's seductions include: (1) the palace of the king of Naples, (2) a fishing village on the Mediterranean coast of Spain near Tarragona, (3) an Andalusian hamlet, Dos Hermanas, and (4) Seville. An ambassador's report to the king of Castile in Seville calls up other sites in the conjoint Spanish-Portuguese empire: the Asian colony of Goa, planned expeditions to Ceuta or Tangiers, a glowing description of Lisbon as the "eighth wonder of the world," with its bustling seaport, strong fortresses, great convents and churches, and the Rua Nova (New Street) where mercantile abundance is such that a merchant supposedly measures his wealth by the bushel. Juxtaposed to this, Don Juan's lackey Catalinón praises Seville taverns and his friend the Marqués reviews for him the "Lisbon in Seville"—syphilitic Portuguese prostitutes in the red-light district along the Calle de la Sierpe (Serpent Street). As Don Juan's victims gather in Seville to press the king for justice, the drama's conceived space widens to Heaven and Hell. Don Juan laughs at the inscription on the Comendador's statue in a chapel—"Aquí aguarda del Señor / el más leal caballero / la venganza de un traidor" ("Here, trusting in the Lord for vengeance on a traitor, the most loyal of all true knights lies buried")—and invites him to dine.⁶¹ When the imposing statue reciprocates, he serves an infernal repast of scorpions and drags Don Juan down to Hell.

Paradoxically, we can also find the interaction of Lefebvre/Soja's third category of "lived space" with conceived space in Spain's self-understanding in what would seem an unlikely genre—the allegorical discourse of the *Corpus Christi auto sacramental*. Calderón's 1640 version for Toledo of the Psyche myth as "the journey of the soul toward its God"⁶² is surprisingly rich in representing something close to the physical origins of human "bodily" experience of space, and also demonstrates how Calderón used theatrical proxemics to convey doctrinal lessons. Less surprisingly, its religio-political ideology is also represented as conceived space. He concludes the prologue with praise for Toledo, the principal see in Spain, as "corazón de España y de la fé" (the

heart of Spain and the faith). The figure Apostasy opens the *auto* proclaiming himself supreme Emperor of the Northern realms; Idolatry enters next, championed by her husband Gentility as “empress of the East,” and Judaism cites his marriage to Synagogue in Sinai.⁶³ Calderón then employs stage proxemics to dramatize the religious errors of these enemies of the faith. In the allegory, Cupid is a figure for Christ, the divine love that lives in the world behind the white veil of the sacred bread. As each religion moves toward Cupid to remove the veil covering his identity, Gentility, worshiper of many gods, finds himself frozen at the first step; Judaism’s monotheism allows him to move one step closer before his denial that Christ is the messiah stops him; and Apostasy comes yet closer, but his arm is frozen by disbelief that Christ is really present in the bread.⁶⁴

Equally inspired are the proxemics of Calderón’s use of Albedrío (Free Will) as a *gracioso* or comic commoner who accompanies Faith to dramatize an important Catholic concept and distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism. He does so with a plasticity and humor ideal for capturing the attention, sympathy and comprehension of the diverse and massive public that attended the *auto* performances in the streets of Toledo and Madrid. Like most *graciosos*, Albedrío is a creature of carnal sensuality and fear. He tells Faith in an early scene, “Yo, como soy Albedrío, / persona de poco seso, / no tengo voto; y así, / por el vuestro me gobierno” (As Free Will, a person of few wits, I have no vote and thus I am governed by yours).⁶⁵ When Faith retreats from Apostasía’s advances, that “heretic” orders Albedrío to stop her, but he answers, “¿Yo? ¿Cómo puedo? / Que ella puede a mi llevarme tras sí, y yo, no . . . / que yo inclino mas no fuerzo” (I? How can I? She can take me with her and I can’t . . . because I incline but do not force). Apostasía then tries to retain Albedrío forcefully, but he escapes saying, “libre soy, libre nací / de nadie puedo ser preso” (I am free, I was born free and can’t be imprisoned by anyone) and flees, following Faith. He is consoled for being abandoned with her on a deserted island on seeing a table with bread and wine in Christ/Cupid’s palace and carries a lamp to explore it, but Cupid puts out the light because the mysteries of faith must be believed blindly. Albedrío, alone on the stage, then carries on a marvelous dialogue with his own senses, surely with appropriate gesticulations:

¿Creerás, Vista, lo que yo
sin ver escuchare? No.
Mal respondió pero presto.
Manos, ¿creeréis lo que oís,
sin tocarlo? No. También
responden presto, y no bien.
Narices, pues, ¿qué decís
vosotras? ¿Si vuestro Olfato
pan sólo oliere, creeréis
que otra cosa es lo que oléis?

Que no, dicen; y no trato
 de preguntarlo a la Boca:
 yo responderé por ella
 que estando mi Gusto en ella,
 a mí responder me toca:
 digo que lo que me dan
 me sabrá a lo que comiere;
 a carne, si carne fuere;
 y a pan, cuando fuere pan;
 a tocino, si es tocino;
 y cuando en esto dispense,
 nadie me ha de hacer que piense
 que el vino no ha de ser vino;
 mas si bien lo considero,
 es lo fácil de creer,
 pues esto lo sabe hacer
 cada día el tabernero.⁶⁶

[Sight, will you believe what I hear without seeing? No. She responds badly, but quickly. Hands, will you believe what you hear without touching it? They too respond quickly, and not well. Nostrils, then, what do you say? If your Sense only smelled bread, would you think that what you smelled was something else? No, they say; and I won't even try to ask Mouth; I'll answer for her, since my Taste is in her, it's for me to respond; I say that what they give me will taste of what I eat: of meat, if it were meat, of bacon, if it's bacon, and when it comes to that, nobody will make me think that wine isn't wine; but considering that well, it's easy to believe, because that's what the tavern keeper knows how to do every day.]

Faith does prevail over Free Will's doubts and the opposition of the assorted heretics. But in dramatizing that struggle, Calderón gives an important scenic space to the voice of corporeal experience, anticipating what Lefebvre would say:

The whole of (social) space proceeds from the body, even though it so metamorphoses the body that it may forget it altogether—even though it may separate itself so radically from the body as to kill it. The genesis of a far-away order can be accounted for only on the basis of the order that is nearest to us—namely, the order of the body.⁶⁷

Calderón, centuries before, dramatized this within Catholic doctrine, showing the importance of corporeal experience which can never be excluded from human experience, despite the most repressive and hierarchical social practices and representations of space.

That corporeal experience is almost invariably the precinct of the *gracioso* in secular drama as well, and José Antonio Maravall argued that

their presence on the stage is manipulative, serving to deflect lower-class hostility to the conservative value system of a resilient aristocracy by their dazzling inclusion in such popular mass entertainment.⁶⁸ However, in addition to providing comic relief and a foil for their masters, servants regularly voiced a critique of aristocratic codes, and in comedy this critique took the form of regularly devised strategies by which their masters and mistresses might at least individually circumvent those codes. Analysis of the “imperial” spaces and socioeconomic subtext of a play like Ruíz de Alarcón’s *La verdad sospechosa* (Suspect truth), the Spanish original of Corneille’s *Le Menteur* (The liar), can reveal an understanding of the socioeconomic order that complicates Maravall’s monolithically “top-down” explanation of the *comedia*’s relationship to Spain’s sociopolitical stagnation. Alarcón’s play is firmly anchored on earth, in familiar spaces of Madrid: its commercial center, a fashionable residence by the convent La Vitoria, the banks of the Manzanares River, gaming houses, a horseback ride down Atocha Street, an isolated dueling field by San Blas, a festival at La Magdalena church and convent. But it also evokes the far reaches of the empire and the effects of American gold and silver. Don García’s first lie is to represent himself not as a student just arrived from Salamanca, but as an “indiano,” back in Spain with riches garnered in the colonies. On first meeting Jacinta, the woman he falls in love with as she descends from a carriage by La Platería (silver-smith’s shop) in the commercial heart of Madrid, he compares his wealth to that of Potosí, and promises her a *feria* of gifts—“tantos mundos de oro / como vos me dais deseos” (as many worlds of gold as the desires you give me).⁶⁹ He then defends his lie to his wise lackey/Madrid guide Tristán by saying that foreigners, especially those from the Indies, have more success with women. Tristán knows the court well, as he sought a post at the palace, but lacking the wealth and fortune to secure it, now serves as García’s lackey. Cataloging Madrid’s courtesans and prostitutes for the newcomer, he says that one class is those with husbands who are occupied in Italy or the Indies. He also warns that none of those “errant beauties” will remain constant even if you give them “a Peru,” that in the sexual and commercial exchange of their society, money is the conquering “Caesar.”

As Don García’s theatrically persuasive lies multiply, he explains why he invents them in terms that are absolutely consistent with Habermas’s description of the function of representative publicness, of establishing one’s authority in Baroque courtly society on the basis not of what one produces or does but of who one is.⁷⁰ García will not be, he says, a beast who is just a number in the social order, but will gain fame by exceeding any story another man tells. He is his own press agent, in effect. As for other such courtiers, elegant dress is vital, but Alarcón in another opening scene calls attention to its fictional nature, and implicitly to the economic downside that American wealth had for Spain. As Don García preens in the *valona* white collar one sees in portraits of black-clad nobles, Tristán observes that this lovely frame can deceive by hiding an ugly old neck, and

García suggests they should be outlawed for that and for the way they damage Spain by transferring its wealth to Dutch pockets.

There has been much modern discussion of how Alarcón intended spectators to balance the aesthetic pleasures of Don García's fictions with the play's social satire of court society and moralizing exemplarity supporting the aristocratic order. So let me make an apparent leap from that white collar to the central theme of the transformation of space in early modern theater before going back to the play's denouement. The literary discussion in London coffeehouses and French academies that Habermas posits as practice for reasoned political debate also developed in Spain, in Spanish academies, in the *tertulias* and in public gathering spots called *mentideros* (gossiping places). The literary academies, modeled on those of Renaissance Italy, counted as members most intellectuals and men of letters and a number of aristocrats as well, including one maintained by the Count of Saldaña, Lerma's son. The primary topic of discussion in most of them was poetics, including in some cases theatrical form; Lope's *Arte nuevo* was written for an as-yet-unidentified literary academy of Madrid.⁷¹ Men also gathered in *mentideros* like the steps of the convent of San Felipe and the Palace courtyard to seek military or court appointments, exchange news from political and battle fronts and engage in court and literary gossip. They also gathered near the *corrales* for theater gossip and to see *comedia* rehearsals, and in Seville, merchants gathered on the cathedral steps for news of the American trade and of matches with daughters of wealthy *indianos*.⁷² Why didn't those literary debates and political discussions help carry Spain toward liberal democracy?

That costly *valona* (Walloon) collar is a token of how the inflationary effect of American gold and silver virtually halted Spain's transition to a capitalist socioeconomic structure.⁷³ Foreign-bought goods became cheaper than those locally produced, so local producers failed; migration to the colonies and cities hurt agricultural production; historical blocks to a rationally distributed tax system meant recourse to foreign-dominated debt financing to support multiple wars in order to maintain the empire and "defend the Catholic faith." Making Madrid the permanent court city without a developed transportation infrastructure meant it didn't encourage the growth of commercial-industrial webs like those around London.⁷⁴ For any family whose mercantile or protoindustrial activity brought it substantial wealth, the rational decision was to pursue a title that would exempt them from most taxes. So the merchants and artisans treated with dignity in sixteenth-century plays like Gaspar de Aguilar's *El mercader amante* (The merchant lover) all but disappear from the stage. García has come to Madrid because his elder brother died, leaving him heir to the entailed estate, and Lucrecia/Jacinta will inherit two thousand ducats (or two million *doblones*) of *rentas* (income). His rival for Jacinta's hand prevails in the end not by donning a Walloon collar but by acquiring the habit and cross of the elite military-religious order of Calatrava, which moves

him up the social ladder and will facilitate his securing a position at court. García's and Jacinta's incomes could be proceeds from a landed estate such as that of the Duke of Averó in *El vergonzoso en palacio* (The bashful man at court), but because they are lower nobles resident in Madrid, it more likely derives from *censos* and *jueros*—essentially mortgage loans, not unrelated to the kind of devotion to financial speculation that has recently been so damaging to our economies. Given this economic stagnation and consequent re-aristocratization of social relations, Spain's vibrant theatrical tradition, despite the incipient liberalizing space of public opinion, did not move it along the road toward a liberal regime.

NOTES

1. According to Henry Sullivan, *Juan del Encina* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 24–25.
2. See Bruce Burningham, *Radical Theatricality: Jongleuresque Performance on the Early Spanish Stage* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2007); N.D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Charlotte Stern, *The Medieval Theater in Castile* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996); and Stern, "The Medieval Theater: Between *Scriptura* and *Theatrica*," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 115–136.
3. Although Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo* (see below) alleges he puts Plautus and Terence under lock and key along with classical drama theorists before he writes the *comedias* that please his public, in *La prueba de los amigos* (The test of friends; 1608), he has Fabricio describe the seductive gold-digging courtesan Dorotea as "vana, / quanto en una cortesana / de Plauto, o Terenzio cabe" (as vain as befitting a courtesan of Plautus or Terence); in his edition (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1973), Henryk Ziomek suggests that the primary inspiration for the plot was Boiardo's comedy *Il Timone*, supplemented by plot devices from several plays by Plautus (pp. 3, 18–20, 120).
4. J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1499–1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 30, 133–134, 168; Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 51–56.
5. Don W. Cruickshank, "Lisping and Wearing Strange Suits: English Characters on the Spanish Stage and Spanish Characters on the English Stage, 1580–1680," in *Parallel Lives: Spanish and English National Drama 1580–1680*, ed. Louise and Peter Fothergill-Payne (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1991), 195–210.
6. Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
7. Walter Cohen, *Drama of a Nation: Public Theater in Renaissance England and Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).
8. For a more detailed comparison, see Margaret Greer, "A Tale of Three Cities: The Place of the Theater in Early Modern Madrid, Paris and London," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 77, no. 1 (2000), 391–419.
9. Jane Albrecht, however, in *The Playgoing Public of Madrid in the Time of Tirso de Molina* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2001),

analyzing the average income of Madrid residents, argues that those poorer than artisans could rarely attend.

10. John Jay Allen, *The Reconstruction of a Spanish Golden Age Playhouse: El Corral del Príncipe, 1583–1744* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1983). For other images of Manuel Canseco's virtual reconstruction of the Corral del Príncipe, see José María Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta en escena en los teatros comerciales del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2001), Appendix.
11. See lines 483–490 and accompanying notes in Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, *Abrir el ojo*, ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Milagros Rodríguez Cáceres (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2005).
12. See Brian Cowan's chapter in this volume.
13. William Egginton, *How the World Became a Stage: Presence, Theatricality, and the Question of Modernity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).
14. Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, ed. Joseph E. Gillet, vol. 4, *Torres Naharro and the Drama of the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 427.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. 1 (Bryn Mawr, PA: George Banta Publishing Company, 1943), 142. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
16. As in Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco's 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, "Lo que un hombre puede andar buenamente de camino en un día, desde que amanece hasta que anochece." (What a man can easily walk in a day, from dawn to dusk).
17. The proper translation of *vulgo* is the subject of a never-ending debate in *comedia* studies. Lope wrote this ironically serious treatise for a Madrid academy of aristocrats and men of letters, which surely conditioned his use of *vulgo* to defend his popularizing approach. This is my literal prose translation. In Victor Dixon's English verse rendition in a multi-lingual edition the passage is: "[I] substitute the rules that were invented / by those who sought the plaudits of the mob, / for since it is the mob that pays, it's right / to act the fool to give such fools delight." Lope de Vega, *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo dirigido a la Academia de Madrid*, ed. and trans. Felipe Pedraza et al. (Almagro: Festival de Teatro Clásico de Almagro, 2009), 74–75, 176.
18. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Fredrick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).
19. Institutional authorities also played a shaping role, of course. See Alejandro García-Reidy, "La comedia barroca española como bien de consumo: Posesión, circulación y regulación institucional," *Hispanic Review* (forthcoming), and "Profesionales de la escena: Lope de Vega y los actores del teatro comercial barroco," in *Aún no dejó la pluma*, ed. Xavier Tubau (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2009), 243–284.
20. The *Catálogo de autores teatrales del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002) prepared by Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada lists some 1100 authors of nearly 10,000 dramatic texts. He is the first to admit that it is not fully accurate, but it does give a rough estimate of the total production. For good, reliable surveys of early modern Spanish theater, see the first volume of the *Historia del teatro español*, directed by Javier Huerta Calvo, 2 vols. (Madrid: Gredos, 2003); coordinators of vol. 1, *De La Edad Media a los Siglos de Oro*, were Abraham Madroñal Durán and Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada. See also María M. Delgado and David T. Gies, eds., *A History of Theatre in Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

21. John J. Allen, "Los espacios teatrales," in *Historia del teatro español*, dir. Javier Huerta Calvo, 1: 628–653, 633.
22. *Diccionario biográfico de actores del teatro clásico español*, DVD, director Teresa Ferrer Valls (Kassel, Edition Reichenberger, 2008).
23. María José del Río Barredo, "Representaciones teatrales en casa de un artesano del Madrid de principios del siglo XVII," in *Teatros y vida teatral en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. J. Varey and L. García (London: Támesis Books, 1991), 245–258.
24. For a helpful overview, see Joan Oleza's multibranched graphs in "Del primer Lope al 'Arte nuevo,'" in Lope de Vega, *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña*, ed. Donald McGrady, (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), xviii–xix.
25. See the articles in *Homenaje a Serralta: el espacio y sus representaciones en el teatro español del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Françoise Cazal et al. (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2002); and Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez et al., eds., *Espacio, tiempo y género en la comedia española* (Almagro: U. de Castilla-La Mancha, 2005). Enrique García Santo-Tomás's useful study takes the opposite approach, however, organizing a broad survey of literary treatments of urban Madrid around the five senses in *Espacio urbano y creación literaria en el Madrid de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2004).
26. Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2007), 45.
27. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 31.
28. Ibid., 32.
29. "Trialectics" is a term invented by Edward Soja in *Thirdspace*, 10, 33–34, 53–82, to facilitate understanding of Lefebvre's metaphilosophy of space.
30. Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theater and Drama* (New York: Methuen, 1980), 99.
31. Umberto Eco, "Possible Worlds and Text Pragmatics: 'Un drame bien parisien,'" VS 19–20 (1978): 5–76; Elam, *The Semiotics of Theater and Drama*, 104.
32. Umberto Eco, "Semiotics of Theatrical Performance," *The Drama Review* 21 (1977): 115–117.
33. *Parte catorze de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1620). I thank Elizabeth Wright for calling my attention to this passage, and she in turn credits Teresa Ferrer Valls, who cites it in her edition of Lope de Vega's *La viuda valenciana* (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 2001), 7.
34. Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 2.
35. See M.R. Greer and Andrea Junguito, "Economies of the Early Modern Spanish Stage," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 29 (2004): 31–46.
36. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.
37. Royally licensed companies typically included six to eight actors and three or four actresses; actors' contracts often specified whether they would play *galanes* (leading male), *barba* (old man) or *gracioso* (comic lackey or servant) roles, and actresses' whether they would play *primera*, *segunda* or *tercera dama* (first, second or third lady) for the duration of the season. Minor roles were often doubled.
38. See lines 19–156 in the edition by Berta Pallares (Madrid: Castalia, 1999).
39. Stefano Arata, "Casa de muñecas: El descubrimiento de los interiores y la comedia urbana en la época de Lope de Vega," in *Homenaje a Serralta*, 91–115.

40. Arata's introduction to his edition of Lope's *El acero de Madrid* (Madrid: Castalia, 2000), 25. Other frequent interior scenes in urban comedies were the house of one of the *galanes*, of a feminine antagonist, sometimes of a courtesan, an inn and occasionally a jail or gambling house.
41. Oleza, "Primer Lope," xvii.
42. Lope de Vega, *El acero de Madrid*, 23.
43. José Cartagena Calderón, "Saint Sebastian and the Cult of the Flesh: The Making of a Queer Saint in Early Modern Spain," in *Queering Iberia: Revisiting Iberian Masculinities*, ed. Josep Armengol (New York: Peter Lang, 2012), 14, 20–21.
44. Lope de Vega, *El acero*, 132–133.
45. Arata, 2002, 105.
46. Fausta Antonucci describes their variety in "El espacio doméstico y su representación en algunas comedias calderonianas de capa y espada," in *Homenaje a Serralta*, 56–80.
47. Rafael González Canal, "Recursos espaciales del enredo en Rojas Zorrilla," in *Homenaje a Serralta*, 173. He says that *En Madrid y en una casa* might also have been written collaboratively by Tirso, Calderón and perhaps Rojas Zorrilla.
48. For example, *El arenal de Sevilla* (The port of Seville), *El ruiseñor de Sevilla* (The nightingale of Seville), *La noche toledana* (The Toledan night), *Los locos de Valencia* (Valencian madmen) and *La viuda valenciana* (The Valencian widow), all by Lope.
49. See Helen Tropé's edition (Madrid: Castalia, 2003), 116–117.
50. See Richard Helgerson's account of the dignity accorded such peasants against aristocratic sexual abuse in this tragicomedy, Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* (Sheepswell) and Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* (The Mayor of Zalamea). They draw on and reinforce their public's sense of the limits of seigneurial power, and the justice of monarchical defense of the sanctity of marriage, of individual subject and municipal liberties. They do not, however, overturn the hierarchy of monarchical power and the aristocratic order. Richard Helgerson, *Adulterous Alliances: Home, State, and History in Early Modern European Drama and Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 200), 124–149.
51. D.W. Cruickshank, *Don Pedro Calderón* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 106–107. The 'league' is a space constructed in relation to the human or animal body and function; it originally meant the distance a person or a horse could walk in an hour. Since that distance changes according to the terrain, a league could vary from four to seven kilometers.
52. John E. Varey, "Casa con dos puertas: hacia una definición del enfoque calderoniano de lo cómico," in his collected essays *Cosmovisión y escenografía: El teatro español en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1987), 189–202.
53. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.
54. Soja, *Thirdspace*, 67.
55. Stefano Arata, "Proyección escenográfica de la huerta del duque d Lerma en Madrid," in *Siglos dorados. Homenaje a Agustín Redondo*, ed. Pierre Civil (Madrid: Castalia, 2004), 1:33–52.
56. Margaret Greer, *The Play of Power: Mythological Court Dramas of Calderón de la Barca* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 82–86.
57. See M. Presotto, "Hacia la producción del texto-espectáculo en las comedias autógrafas de Lope," in *Anuario de Lope de Vega* 3 (1997): 156, 168. Cited in DICAT, in the Granados record. The manuscript resides in the Biblioteca Nacional and can be viewed digitally in the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica at

- <http://bibliotecadigitalhispanica.bne.es:80/webclient/DeliveryManager?pid=1673467&custom_att_2=simple_viewer>.
58. Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 10–11, 87, 332–333.
 59. Plays are very rarely set in the far reaches of the empire, however, and then in ideologically laden conceived space that conveyed little idea of spatial practice and the lived experience of the colonies.
 60. There are, in fact, two early versions of this play, as distinct and yet as inseparable as Siamese twins; debates over their authorship and priority continue. The other is titled *Tan largo me lo fiáis* (What long-term credit you give me).
 61. Atribuida a Tirso de Molina, *El burlador de Sevilla*, ed. Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007), 233. English translation by Roy Campbell in *Life is a Dream and Other Spanish Classics* (New York: Applause Theatre Book Publishers, 1985), 199.
 62. Barbara Kurtz, *The Play of Allegory in the Autos Sacramentales of Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 85.
 63. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Psiquis y Cupido* (Toledo), *Autos sacramentales*, ed. A. Valbuena Prat, *Obras completas*, vol. 3 (Aguilar: Madrid, 1952), 353. My translation.
 64. Enrique Rull, in *Arte y sentido en el universo sacramental de Calderón* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger; Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2004), 193–201, links the role of Apostasy in this version to the ideological antagonism between Protestantism and Catholicism of the Thirty Years War. In the Madrid version of the auto written twenty-five years later, the spatial organization is replaced by a temporal one, the three theological ages of man.
 65. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Psiquis y Cupido*, 348.
 66. *Ibid.*, 357–358.
 67. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 405.
 68. Maravall, *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca* (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1972).
 69. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, *Las paredes oyen. La verdad sospechosa*, ed. Juan Oleza and Teresa Ferrer (Barcelona: Planeta, 1986), 146. My translation.
 70. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.
 71. Willard F. King, *Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Anécdotas del Boletín de la Real Academia Española 10, 1963), 11–17, 21–24, 42–47.
 72. See Lope de Vega, *De cuándo acá nos vino*, ed. Delia Gavela García (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2008), 34, 215, 281, lines 553 and 2476; Calderón, *Antes que todo es mi dama*, ed. Bernard Bentley (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000), lines 210–225; Rojas Zorrilla, *Abrir el ojo*, lines 398–402 and note; and *Servir a señor discreto*, ed. Frida Weber de Kurlat (Madrid: Castalia, 1975), lines 342–344, 658.
 73. See Elvira Vilches, *New World Gold: Cultural Anxiety and Monetary Disorder in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
 74. See David Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

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Part II

Spaces Between

Transforming Journeys
and Geographies

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5 Assembling the Archipelago

Isolarii and the Horizons of Early Modern Public Making

Bronwen Wilson

Early modern geopolitics and increasing dangers of travel following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 contributed to interests in the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas that were being cultivated by the *isolario*, or island book.¹ From c. 1420, when Cristoforo Buondelmonti combined maps with descriptions of the Aegean Islands and Constantinople in his *Liber insularum archipelagi*, the genre flourished with the production of dozens of manuscripts and printed books, culminating in Vincenzo Coronelli's lavish example, published in Venice in 1696.² Whether humanist, practical or topical in orientation, *isolarii* are heterogeneous collections.³ As Benedetto Bordone explains to readers of his island book, "When speaking of the islands one deals with particular things, rivers, mountains, the wilds, the castle, the city and other similar things."⁴ Islands were places in between other places—"mental stepping stones" in John Gillis's apt phrase⁵—and also places in which the past, present and anticipation of the future were entangled.

P.D.A. Harvey's incisive assessment of Buondelmonti's *Liber* conveys the texture of the genre as a whole: "a disorderly mixture of fact, fiction, and fantasy, compiled from personal observation, hearsay, and a variety of historical and poetic sources whose authors are frequently named."⁶ Equally striking is the enduring appeal of the format—its "astonishing typological uniformity," in George Tolia's words.⁷ This continuity contrasts markedly with radical changes in cartographic knowledge that accompanied exploration during the same period. *Isolarii* were not immune from this expanding image of the world; Henricus Martellus Germanus's *Insularium illustratum*, made in Florence during the 1480s and known through five extant manuscripts, included a world map and islands beyond the Mediterranean.⁸ This new global orientation began circulating in print with Bordone's *Libro nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'isole del mondo*, published in Venice in 1528. The maritime environs of the Aegean Sea remained a focus of the genre, however. This was a region that was more permeable physically and politically than the dominions that surrounded it, with regimes periodically usurping each other's control of the islands. As an assembly of places that could not easily be defined by geographical borders and whose

histories reveal the vicissitudes of changing governance and relocated communities, the isolario can be understood as a microcosm of a region that was unruly and difficult to fix in one's mind.

This chapter argues that isolarii were exemplary public-making spaces: compendia of information unhinged from traditional institutions and authorities in a format that activates readers' involvement with the world.⁹ Island books are repositories of people, things and forms of knowledge gathered together from diverse sources and juxtaposed without prescriptive narratives. "Bricolage" is the felicitous term Frank Lestringant applies to this process of collecting and creatively mixing practical knowledge with ancient and recent history.¹⁰ The "disorderly mixture" of information enables the genre to respond to evolving individual and collective interests. Isolarii are public-making spaces because they articulate knowledge about antiquities, topography and diverse communities that in turn fosters thinking and communication between people. Opening up topics for conversation about places and the past, the genre invites invention and thinking about matters of concern that cut across geographical boundaries.

Scholarly interest in the isolario has surged in recent decades, with numerous studies of both the genre and individual isolarii.¹¹ Attention to individual authors is fuelled in part by their vocational diversity, of which a cross section appears in this chapter: Buondelmonti was a humanist, Bartolommeo da li Sonetti a mariner, Piri Reis an admiral and chartmaker, Bordone a miniaturist and woodcutter, Tomaso Porcacchi a historian; Francesco Lupazzolo gathered information about the archipelago for the Jesuits; Marco Boschini was an artist and printmaker, and Coronelli a theologian and geographer. Not surprisingly, this variety has generated differing opinions on the function of isolarii. Writing in the early twentieth century, Frederick William Hasluck, a scholar of the Aegean Sea under the Ottoman sultans, describes isolarii "as seamen's guides compiled from a common stock of knowledge."¹² Alternatively, Svat Soucek suggests we understand the isolario as a literary genre intended "not to help the mariner, but to amuse and instruct the curious reader."¹³ Colin Heywood proposes that their functions varied according to "the standpoint and intention of the compiler."¹⁴ While each volume leans toward either the pragmatic or the poetic, the practice of copying earlier models and the interactive format indicate that both are always in play. Bartolommeo, for instance, author of the first printed isolario and a Venetian galley captain who journeyed to Constantinople fifteen times, wanted it both ways, writing that his "book [is] for the contemplation of sailors and the pleasure of all those who will read my low *volgare*."¹⁵ Intriguingly, Buondelmonti offered his manuscript to his patron Cardinal Giordano Orsini: "So that you can have the pleasure of letting your thoughts wander when you are tired."¹⁶ This invitation to wander is at the heart of the genre's public-making capacity. An author may have particular interests, but what goes into the volume is different from what each reader takes out of it.

What does it mean to consider *isolarii* as public-making spaces? There has been a tendency in the literature to stress the formative role of inventions—scientific, geographic, technological—in the making of early modern Europe. Cartographic developments went hand in hand with state formation, colonialism and the cultivation of rational thought. In contrast to the changes that characterize other forms of geographical knowledge during this period, the arrangement of independent islands and literary content in *isolarii* remained relatively unchanged. Tolias suggests that the *isolario*'s distance from the geographical mainstream can be seen as an expression of an experimental “underground” culture.¹⁷ While compelling, this argument doesn't account for the dynamic relation between the persistence of the format and its impressive success. One striking example is Porcacchi's *L'isole piu famose del mondo*, which was revised and reprinted in at least seven editions between 1572 and 1686. These volumes appealed to readers of diverse social rank and station across European geographical boundaries. Tolias appropriately aligns this popularity with curiosity about “the theater of war” that was shaped by European powers.¹⁸ By shifting the focus to public making, this chapter instead stresses how the genre itself generates interaction.¹⁹ Agency emerges not in authorial intentions but in the distinctive combination of form and content that activates unpredictable forms of engagement with the world. In contrast to the abstracted and distant experience of the world associated with cartography, *isolarii* solicit involvement with the real and the utopic, with the material density of the world and its possibilities. In what follows, I consider the genre's distinctive spatial and temporal configurations and then turn to three examples from different contexts. The chapter then explores the function of the genre with attention to the evolving position and role of Venice, and to how the past impinges upon the present.

Key to the function of *isolarii* as both public spaces and makers of publics is the distinctive format of map and text. As collections of islands that are themselves constituted by places, *isolarii* demonstrate the metatopical character of public-making forms.²⁰ Each volume assembles islands from a specific maritime region, with each island isolated from those environs and rendered as if a world unto itself. This dynamic and synoptic relation between the whole and the parts is often registered in maps that encompass the region. For example, Marco Boschini includes a folio map that the reader unfolds in order to navigate his *L'arcipelago* (1668). For Tomasso Porcacchi's *L'isole piu famose del mondo*, Girolamo Porro engraved maps of the Morea and the Aegean Archipelago, and two maps of the world that appear at the end of the volume—one with an oval projection and description of its four parts, and another with winds for navigation. Introducing the book, Porcacchi compares the islands of Cyprus and Sardinia in the Mediterranean with the continents that can themselves be seen as islands, with the world itself floating in the oceans; following Pliny, he imagines the world is “a guisa d'un Isola” (like an Island).²¹ Readers of *isolarii* are

presented with a mosaic of islands in which relations between island and water unfold continuously. The structure resembles hypertext, according to Lestringant, who describes how “the archipelago enables a progressive apprehension of the earth, endlessly breaking apart and particularized.”²² In contrast to the sequential narrative of travelers’ accounts, the emphasis on the islands as separate entities prompts exploration of them at random, liberating the reader from the itinerary that the codex format lays out. Each island is both separated from the sea that surrounds it and distinguished from other islands by attention to its distinctive contours, which are often copied—even traced, and sometimes rendered more precisely. The impact of the visual image comes before to the text. As Lestringant proposes: “space, and more exactly topography, is a form of thought. The problem is not the thought of space; it is space that thinks.”²³ As forms of thought, the visual representation of space “generates stories . . . it is what opposes the island to the continent, like a war of the sexes that begins again with each maritime adventure.”²⁴ A thinking image, the map alters how the reader apprehends the accompanying text, activating movement between the two. This open-ended experience of exploring a single island echoes the random encounters with individual islands that are prompted by the repetitive format of the volume. By soliciting nonuniform modes of reading, the map keeps authorial intentions constantly in play.²⁵ *Isolarii* set in motion unpredictable forms of looking, reading and making meaning.

Time is similarly interactive. The volumes appeal to readers to reflect on both the mutable nature of buildings, regimes and people and the coextensive experience of the past and the present. Historical events and people are central to the texts, but chronology is not.²⁶ Instead, the *isolario* is a heterochronous assemblage—a configuration that originates or is formed at different moments—with past events and present conditions, myths and legends overlapping each other rather than falling into a linear sequence of causes and effects. Conceptions of the past changed over time, however. Patricia Fortini Brown has shown how Buondelmonti’s descriptions of classical ruins and their inscriptions situate the past within an imagined Arcadian present.²⁷ A few decades later Bartolommeo signals his sense of historical distance, a “separation and isolation of Greek antiquity from his own time.”²⁸ With Bordone’s global orientation, the distance from Ptolemy’s understanding of geography is decisive. Furnishing ancient and modern names, histories and fables, Bordone writes of improving upon the ancients, correcting their errors and giving order to the whole.²⁹ This “modern” perspective reverberates in subsequent volumes, but the past persists. Writing in 1638, Lupazzolo furnishes the “antique and modern name, the way of living, the numbers of people, the costumes of the women, and the antiquities.”³⁰ In his account of the city of Smyrna (Izmir), this extends to trafficking in antiquities: citing sculptures and columns, he reports that some remain buried while others have been sent to Venice, England and Chios.³¹ Although the horizon between past and present oscillates, antiquity

endures and is taken up in multiple ways that include, as Lupazzolo notes, the potential for future discoveries of a past still buried. This nonnarrative temporal dimension also generates an anticipation that resonates with unpredictable encounters created by wandering.

Islands themselves evoke origins and encounters, and those themes have an ancient lineage.³² In Genesis, for example, the sea is separated from the earth on the third day. Geographical study of islands was remarked upon by Aristotle in his *De mundo*, and in the first century CE Pliny the Elder distinguished islands from the earth in his *Naturalis historia*.³³ Homer's epic poem the *Odyssey* is particularly intriguing for its nonlinear format that recounts the wanderings of Odysseus through the insular geography of the Aegean Sea.³⁴ Also noteworthy is Diodoro Siculo's *Bibliotheca storica*, from the first century BCE, which narrates encounters between gods and men on islands, including Crete, the home of the young Zeus. Dionysius Periegetes's *Oikoumenes Periegesis*, a "synoptic geographical poem" written in 124 CE, was influential throughout the Middle Ages, when it circulated without maps. There are echoes of this literary work in Buondelmonti, Porcacchi and Coronelli, and the poetic form may have inspired the seventy-one sonnets Bartolommeo created for his maps.³⁵

The genre was set in motion in late fourteenth-century Florence by interest in the classical tradition. Domenico Silvestri looked to this for his *De insulis et earum proprietatibus* (On islands and their properties), an invention that drew on ancient stories.³⁶ Silvestri was a Florentine notary and friend of Coluccio Salutati, a priest and a member of the circle of Niccolò Niccoli. This was the humanist environment, influenced by the Greek scholar Manuel Chrysoloras, that prompted Buondelmonti's pursuit of books and interest in the Archipelago. Departing for the Aegean Sea in 1414, he stopped first in Rhodes, where he worked for six years before his journey through the islands by mule and boat. He sent his description of Crete, *Descriptio insulae Cretae*, to Niccoli in 1417, and soon after wrote four versions of the *Liber insularum arcipelagi*.³⁷ Some sixty extant copies attest to its formative role, with two maps shown here from a manuscript in the Maritime Museum in Greenwich (figs. 5.1 and 5.2).

Buondelmonti reconceptualized the space between Italy and Constantinople as a network of islands, and his work includes stories of his maritime travels, archaeological information and imaginary and picturesque details. Troy, for instance, is envisioned as a collection of fantastic ruins, while other sites attest to firsthand observation.³⁸ Constantinople is depicted as bereft of people and housing, "and those who do live there," he reports, "are no friends of the Latins" (fig. 5.1).³⁹ Its ancient ruins and fortifications stand in isolation on the page. Increasingly prominent on maps after 1453 is the European suburb of Pera (also known as Galata), seen above the city and the Golden Horn, that was controlled by the Genoese from 1273 until the fall of Constantinople. Many refugees fled to Chios, an island that had been governed by the Mahona Giustiniani—a clan of families



Figure 5.1 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Constantinople*, P/13(30v), c. 1420. Manuscript on vellum © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

once from Genoa—as a chartered company since 1362.⁴⁰ Chios developed into an important center for copies of Buondelmonti's *Liber*, and this may account for the increasing prominence of Pera in views of Constantinople.⁴¹



Figure 5.2 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Chios*, P/13(27R), c. 1420. Manuscript on vellum © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

The map of Chios from the Greenwich manuscript includes a lively assortment of details, such as the port with its fortifications, rivers, variations in the terrain and several churches (fig. 5.2).⁴² Toponyms identify a number

of sites, although the monuments to which these refer are not always clear. For example, a hill with a circular structure resembling a mausoleum is described as a *monte* to the right, while a caption on the left, under a cluster of simple rectangular structures, refers to the sepulcher of Homer, a ubiquitous figure—not surprisingly given his own island adventures—in the literary accounts of Chios. The combinations of pictorial forms, toponyms and textual references solicit random and interactive looking and reading.

If the pursuit of classical learning in Florence provided impetus for the *isolario*, it was Venice that became a focus for its diffusion through print. Because Venice was a center for the production of cartographic material and the movement of people and goods between the Levant and Europe, printmakers may also have benefited from the genre's association with the city's insular topography and political independence. Bartolommeo's *Isolario* was published there, probably in 1485. His maps were an important source for Bordone, whose *Libro* was in turn used by subsequent authors. Declaring his book to be "more copious than the ancients and moderns," Bordone expanded the number of maps from the 49 that appeared in Bartolommeo's *Isolario* to 111. His global ambitions are introduced with three additional maps: Europe and North Africa, the Aegean and surrounding seas, and the world. These are accompanied with tables identifying numbers and letters in the maps to the names of the islands—from Andre to Zanzibar—that are cross-listed with page numbers. Islands from the Americas include Bordone's famous variation on the Hernán Cortés map of Tenochtitlán (Mexico City), identified as Temistitan.⁴³

Maritime explorations at the end of the century and the concomitant surge in new geographical forms such as globes and atlases reverberated in *isolarii* from as early as 1490, when Henricus Martellus compiled his *Insularium illustratum* in Florence. With travel and the discovery of what would become the New World, the closed Old World of Europe, as Louis Marin explains, was confronted by the seemingly infinite.⁴⁴ The island book became a means of pushing back the horizon and enabling the evolving image of the world "to manifest itself in increments," as Krystel Chéhab puts it.⁴⁵ And yet the focus on the Mediterranean and the past, as well as the genre's format, persisted for two more centuries. Modern time—with its spatial and narrative orientation toward the horizon, manifested, for instance, in the progressive diminution of information registered in cartographic maps of the Americas—thereby runs counter to but overlaps the vertical flows of heterogeneous time that interrupt it.

Bordone's *Libro* addresses itself to vicarious and real travelers: those "occupied by some other study" and those "who are inclined to navigate [themselves but] are not able to do so without first reading in order to learn about the places and customs of men of the world."⁴⁶ In the case of "some ingenious pilgrim with the road before him to see for himself, he has in his hands something to alert him to some new thing to come."⁴⁷ Indeed, Bordone's juxtaposition of sometimes surprising details and protagonists from diverse historical periods offers readers the contingent experience of

unexpected encounters. In Patmos one finds the monastery, the Emperor Domitian and John the Evangelist during his exile. On the deserted island of Amurgo, wild animals cohabit with mosaics of Saint George.⁴⁸ Micone was home to saints George, Stephen and Thomas, and was once well inhabited with “noble and superb edifices.”⁴⁹ Bordone notes its “proximity to Delos that one sees ten miles to the south; it is an arid island and perhaps this is why it was said of Micone (that Strabone [the ancient Greek geographer] liked) that the inhabitants were all bald and he also said that there is a sepulcher in which the dead giant, Hercules, is buried; it has numerous wild goats.”⁵⁰ With depopulation, ancient, medieval and modern monuments, haunted by traces of illustrious personages, rub shoulders with wildlife.

A century later, Bordone’s *Libro* was inventively translated by Lupazzolo in his *Isolario dell’arcipelego et altri luoghi particolari*. In the map of the Hellespont with which the *Isolario* begins, Lupazzolo traced both the contours and the inscriptions, complete with abbreviations and style of script, from Bordone’s version, but he omitted the wind rose and made further alterations, including adding Pera to Constantinople. Hatching along the coastline, undulating lines to indicate hilly terrain and seagoing vessels are all additions that suggest a manuscript source, perhaps Ottoman, given the resemblances to conventions seen in Reis’s *Kitab-i Bahriye* (Book of navigation).⁵¹ More forcefully than Bordone’s schematic outline of the coastline, Lupazzolo’s changes emphasize the region’s permeability. A vessel entering the Strait of Gallipoli on the lower left directs the viewer from the Aegean into the Marmara Sea, which opens, on the upper right, into the Black Sea. As these small differences indicate, the genre established a network of sources in which earlier material is intertwined with the specific interests and claims of authors whose *isolarii* in turn become strands of that network.

Firsthand knowledge of the islands runs through Lupazzolo’s *Isolario*, as I have discussed more fully elsewhere.⁵² Born in Piedmont, and destined for the church, he left Rome for a mission to Constantinople under Gregory XV (1621–1623), abandoning ship during a delay at Chios sometime in 1622.⁵³ He penned his *Isolario* there, one of three known manuscripts made during the 1630s, when he was gathering information on Latin communities in the region for the Propaganda Fide in Rome. He lived a long and astonishing life that included espionage for Venice during the Cretan War (1645–1669), two terms as consul for the Republic and reportedly fathering 129 offspring. As an inhabitant of Chios—he identifies himself in the map of the island as “chiense”—he was attentive in his *Isolario* to diverse ethnic and religious communities who coexisted in cities and on islands under Ottoman jurisdiction.

Personal experience is suggested in prospects that address beholders more directly than the ichnographic plans drawn from Bordone. Opposite his depiction of the Hellespont, for example, are two sites drawn from low vantage points (fig. 5.3). These are not drawn from life, however, but derived from illustrations that appear in a different kind of traveler’s guide:

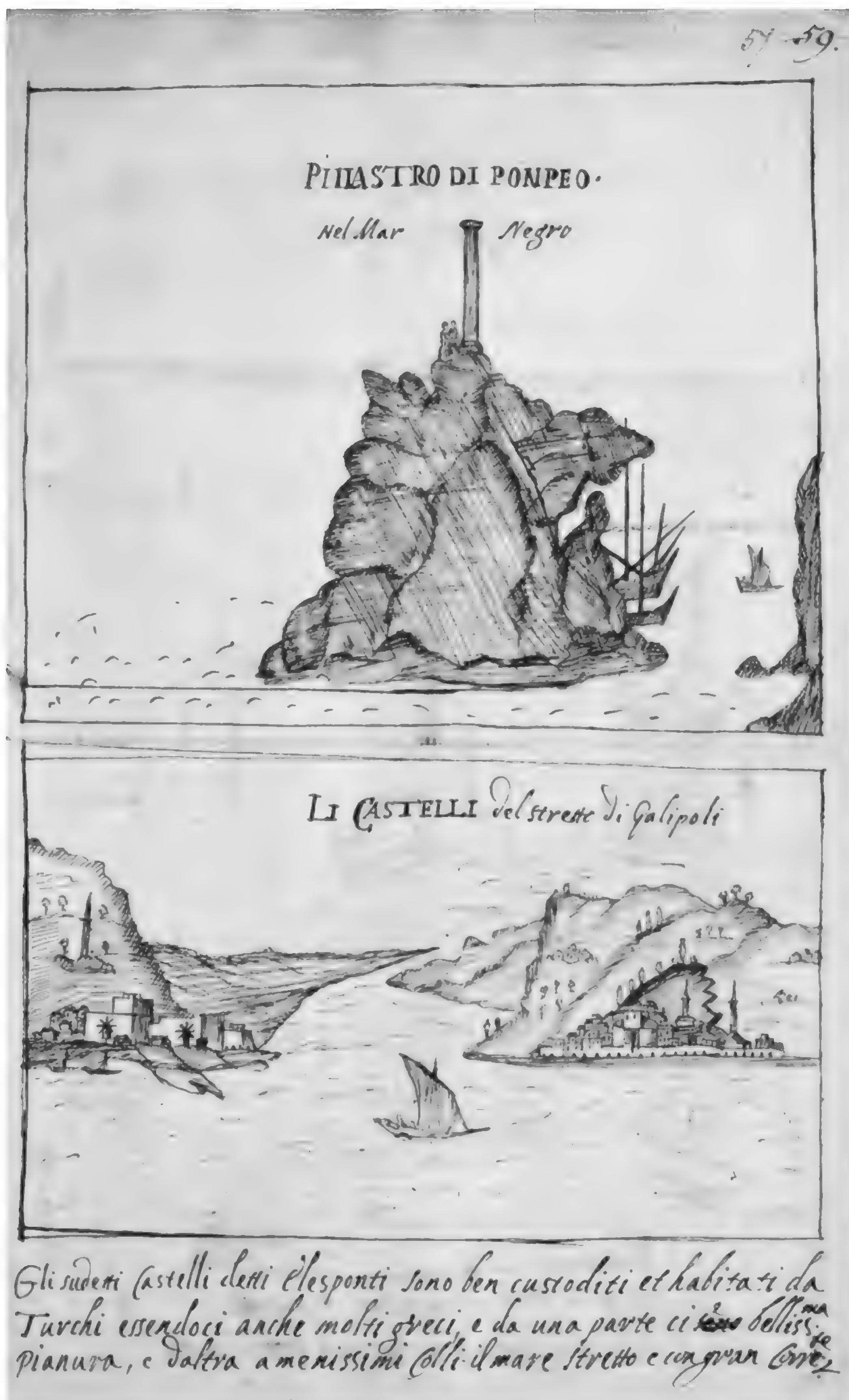


Figure 5.3 Francesco Lupazzolo, *Pilastro di Pompeo, Nel Mar Negro* (Column of Pompey, in the Black Sea), *Isolario dell'Arcipelego et altri luoghi particolari*, 1638. Manuscript on paper © British Library Board MS 792, 57r.

40

Euxine Sea. Thracian Bosphorus.

LIB. I.

thereinto but by rivers: neither this passage of *Bosphorus*, as some coniecture, hath beene alwaies, but forced by the violence of streames that fell into the ouer-charged *Euxine*. Where it rusheth into the *Bosphorus*, there are two rocks, that formerly bare the names of *Cyanea* and *Symphigades*: which for that so neere, as many times appearing but as one, they were fained by the Poets vnstable, and at sundry times to iustle each other. Here, vpon the top of a rock enuironed with the sea, supposed by some to be one of these, if not too far remoued from a fellow to be so, stands a piller of white marble, called vulgarly, The piller of *Pompey*:

A. The rocke supposed one of the *Symphigades*.

B. The blacke Sea.

C. The entrance of the *Bosphorus* towards *Constantinople*.D. The coast of *Asia* towards *Trapezond*.E. Part of *Thrace*.F. The foot of the *Lanterne Tower*.

the basis whereof did beare these now worne-out characters.

DIVO. CÆSARI. AVGVSTO.

L. CLANNIDIVS.

L. F. CLAPONTO.

Pige (2) 164.6 Vpon the shore there is an high *Lanterne*, large enough at the top to containe about threescore persons, which by night directeth the sailer into the entrance of the *Bosphorus*. *my misse. my Hacke (2) 308*

Bosphorus
Thrace

The *Bosphorus* setteth with a strong current into *Propontis*, and is in length about twentic miles: where broadest a mile, and in two places but halfe a mile ouer. So called, for that oxen accustomed to swim from the one side to the other: or as the Poets will haue it, from the passage of metamorphosed *Iō*:

*Iamque dies auræque vocant immo-
susque capessunt
Æquora, quæ rigidos eructas Bos-
phorus amict.*

*Now day, and windes inuite: to Sea put they,
Where Bosphorus doth his rough floods display.*

Figure 5.4 George Sandys, *Pompey Pillar as Vulgarly Called. A Relation of a Journey Begun an: Dom: 1610*. London: Printed for R. Allot, 1632. Book 1, 40 © British Library Board 10125.f.8.

George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey Begun an: Dom: 1610*, first published in 1615. In the upper register of the sheet is the "Pilastro di Pompeo, Nel Mar Negro" (Column of Pompey, in the Black Sea) seen from the

vantage point of the voyager at sea (fig. 5.4). Lupazzolo's drawing closely resembles Sandys's engraving in which a cluster of vessels is partially concealed behind the steep bluff of the island on which the column is mounted.

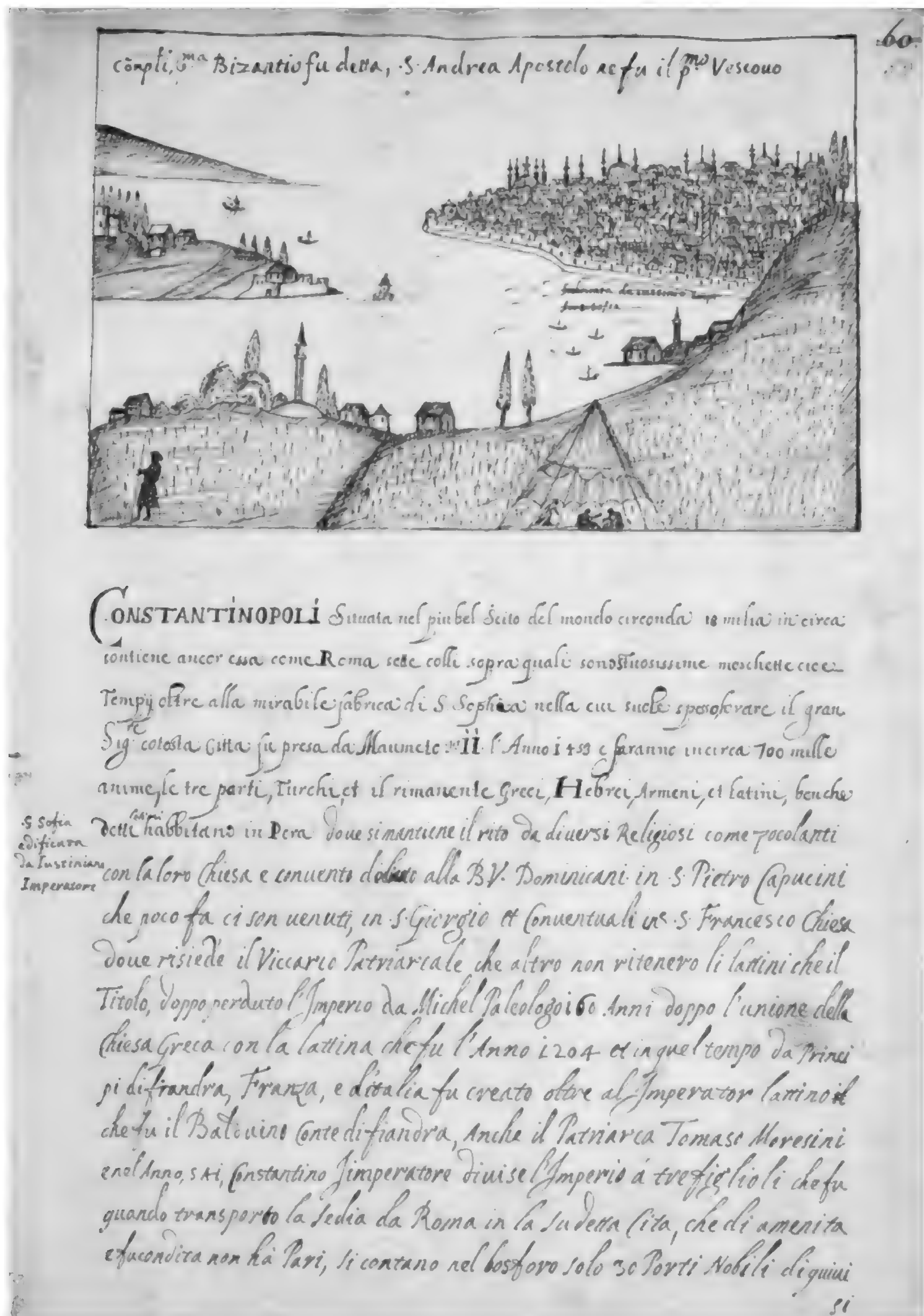


Figure 5.5 Con[stantino]p[o]li, p[ri]ma Bizantio fu detta, S. Andrea Apostolo ne fu il p[ri]mo Vescovo (Constantinople, once called Byzantium; S. Andrea the apostle was made its first bishop), *Isolario dell'Arcipelego et altri luoghi particolari*, 1638. Manuscript on paper © British Library Board MS 792, 58r.

In Sandys's version, the island is distinct from, but also an extension of, the promontory depicted on the right, an impression of connectedness to which the shore edge in the immediate foreground and the headland in the distance contribute. In Lupazzolo's version, the promontory is substantially cropped and the other details omitted, isolating the rocky outcrop and monument and accentuating its insular character. The effect is to draw us closer to the phenomenon, a small but intriguing difference from the model that also characterizes the view below, a prospect of the entrance and fortifications to the strait of Gallipoli that emulates the engraving introducing the Second Book of Sandys's *Relation*.⁵⁴ In this case it is the sky that is cropped, which raises the horizon line, lowering our vantage point and drawing us closer to the terrain. Situating viewers within the maritime environs and orienting them toward the horizon, these prospects visualize the spaces between landforms. The horizon suggests an intrusion of modern time, drawing the beholder toward unfamiliar places, but the distance that characterizes Sandys's images has been mitigated, involving the viewer more directly in the seascape instead.

One further example of this process is the view of Constantinople on the recto drawn from an unusual vantage point behind Pera and looking over the Bosphorus toward the Marmara Sea. The caption conveys the author's distinctive interest in the Roman Church: "Con[stantino]p[o]li, p[ri]ma Bizantio fu detta, S. Andrea Apostolo ne fu il p[ri]mo Ves-covo" (Constantinople, once called Byzantium; S. Andrea the apostle was made its first bishop) (fig. 5.5). An illustration from Sandys's chronicle is a source once again, and the cartouche bears a different inscription: "Prospect of Constantinople from the vineyards in Fondaclo" (now Findiki or Beyoğlu). In Sandys's illustration the details of the city in the distance are cursorily drawn, with the focus instead on the open field of vineyards and circular tent, or yurt, in the right foreground with its suggestions of nomadic and rural life.⁵⁵ Lupazzolo brings us closer to the city, which is animated by minarets, walls and windows of the densely packed urban environment. He presents Constantinople as a place through which one moves, a convergence of waterways that is home to a multiplicity of people. Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Latins live in Pera, he writes, where they maintain their different religious rites and convents, including those of the Dominicans, Capuchins and Franciscans. The unconventional vantage point, the caption and the author's reference to the city's seven hills prompt us to see its resemblance to Rome, and to imagine its minarets as the bell towers of churches. Contributing to this Christianizing and cosmopolitan concept of the city is a cast of historical figures—Michel Paleologus, the Persian king Darius, the Sultan Suleyman—whose interventions are folded into the city's history, as is typical of the genre, without concern for chronology.

Chios is the heart of the *Isolario*, and information from Bordone is subordinated to Lupazzolo's firsthand understanding (fig. 5.6). Like the *Odyssey*, the account begins in the middle of things in 1566 when Sultan Selim



Figure 5.6 Francesco Lupazzolo, *Scio* (Chios), *Isolario dell’Arcipelego et altri luoghi particolari*, 1638. Manuscript on paper © British Library Board MS 792, 61r.

(in fact Piali Pasha) wrested control of the island from the “Giustiniani Gentilhuomini Gennesi,” the Mahona Giustiniani.⁵⁶ Readers are provided with knowledge about the mixture of inhabitants, accessibility for galleys,

food, religious orders, practices, *scuole*, history, myths, government and costume. Famous individuals are a theme, notably Homer, whose sepulcher, as seen earlier in the Buondelmonti manuscript, is depicted in the map, and there is a roster of prelates, bishops and archbishops in the text. Wine, religious objects, icons, mining, forestry, miracles, conversions, plaster and medicinal plants are among the variety of things produced on the island, and villages, religious communities, numbers of souls and members of orders are described with similar census-like precision. In contrast with maps of the island in earlier isolarii, Lupazzolo identifies all the towns. Chios is thus both a synecdoche and a microcosm of his *Isolario* as a whole; the villages are like islands in the Chian archipelago.

Individual experiences of making and engaging with isolarii, importantly, are strands within a broader network of oral, printed and manuscript information that unfolds in multiple directions. The participatory nature of authorship is one example of this dynamic; it is seen in the processes of creative emulation, translation and bricolage surveyed above. Bartolommeo used Buondelmonti's maps, but he also composed vernacular sonnets, added compass roses and delineated more precisely the contours of the islands and their navigational perils. Bordone drew on Bartolommeo's printed maps, as did Piri Reis for his *Kitab-i Bahriye*. Concordances between maps in Bordone's *Libro* and Reis's book attest to a shared source,⁵⁷ now lost, that continues to reverberate in later isolarii, including Lupazzolo's, who made new use of Sandys's English *Relation*. Lupazzolo's descriptions of Chios and other islands in the region were used in turn by Jean de Thévenot to supplement his *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, published in Paris in 1665.⁵⁸ Running through this archive of sources are repeated exchanges between manuscript and print, and the circulation of oral and literary sources. In this movement of information from one medium into another, and in the migration of maps, views and references from one place into another, each isolario resembles an island within an archipelago. This protean character gives voice to new authors, to new journeys by readers and to shared orientations to the world encapsulated by the synoptic character of the genre.

Tom Conley has argued that the convergence of writing and cartography fostered the emergence of a self whose "illusion of autonomy" is bound up with "a strongly marked geographical consciousness."⁵⁹ Identifying a shift in cartography from cosmography to ethnography, he proposes that the isolario is a form that altered the taxonomies through which knowledge was organized. In contrast to the symbolic cosmography of late medieval understanding, the diagrammatic character of isolarii gave rise to singular experiences of the world he ascribes to ethnography.⁶⁰ Partly because of the bricolage process through which isolarii come together, and the possibilities for wandering this engenders, it follows that the "illusion of autonomy" Conley ascribes to makers of maps can also be extended to readers of isolarii. Agency inherent in the genre went hand in hand with a new individual and shared orientation to worldliness through the incremental disclosing of geographical knowledge.

Further evidence of this generative process can be seen in new forms of cartographic production that resemble the genre. One early example is the Venetian scholar Antonio Pigafetta's chronicle of his circumnavigation of the world with Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastián Elcano (1519–1522).⁶¹ The *Primo viaggio intorno al mondo* (c. 1525) would later circulate widely in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni*, an immense compendium of geographical information published in 1555.⁶² With its miniatures of islands and descriptions, Pigafetta's manuscript resembles *isolarii*, but as a sequential narrative it takes the genre in a new direction. Another derivation is the *Description of the Archipelago islands, taking of Scio, &c*, published in 1699 by "Captain" William Hacke. Part of a longer travel account attributed to Mr. Roberts, the *Description* adheres to the island book format, but the maps are absent.⁶³ One further example is Giuseppe Rosaccio's *Da Venetia a Costantinopli*, a small and portable printed travel guide.⁶⁴ The journey is introduced with a geographical map of the Adriatic and the Morea.⁶⁵ Engravings of fortifications and outposts combined with topographical descriptions resemble *isolarii*, although the journey is determined by an itinerary. These few examples of many spinoffs exemplify the public-making nature of the open-ended format—how strands get picked up and dropped off to form new assemblies of material that in turn address new readers, who may also have been readers of *isolarii*. Examples such as these also point to the fluctuating constituencies of publics over time.

Publishing was of course important to the public-making nature of *isolarii*, and the dates of editions can be charted in relation to the Venetian Republic's arc of influence. In the early history of the printed *isolario*—1485 and 1528 when Bartolommeo's and Bordone's books were published—the city's maritime state and expertise in the region and its role as a trading crossroads were at their peak. The next group of publications—the first edition of Porcacchi's *Isole piu famose* was issued in 1572—lines up with intensifying concerns about the Ottoman Empire, to which the publisher's dedication refers.⁶⁶ The unexpected victory of the Holy League at Lepanto in 1571, albeit fleeting for the Venetians, fueled the success of the first edition, a fact demonstrated by the addition of engravings related to the conflict in the 1576 volume.⁶⁷ These same geopolitical interests contributed to a flurry of printed volumes by Simon Pinargenti (1573), Giovanni Francesco Camocio (1574) and Donato Bertelli (1575). It is the Cretan War to which Marco Boschini refers in his *Isolario* (1668) and on the opening page of his earlier engravings of Crete (1651). This investment in disseminating information about the Mediterranean may seem surprising since the Republic's maritime state had been systematically eroded by the Ottoman Turks since the end of the fifteenth century. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, furthermore, the city's trading dominance was being usurped by the major maritime powers of the Dutch, Flemish and British, which was a deliberate policy of the Ottoman Porte.⁶⁸ Specialization in island books might then

be seen as an expression of fading influence in the region. As the Republic's Stato da Mar was depleted island by island, it was reinstalled in isolarii.

This is how Olfert Dapper saw it in his *Naukeurige beschryving der Eilanden, in de Archipel der Middelantsche Zee*, published in Amsterdam in Dutch and French in 1688 and 1703, respectively: "one also needs to admit," he writes in the Foreword, "the stock of those who recognize also the domination and the authority of the Venetians who groan under the heavy yoke of the Empire of the Turks."⁶⁹ Although the Republic was no longer a force in the islands, he acknowledges Italian expertise in island matters, citing Buondelmonti, Bordone, Porcacchi and Marco Boschini. Dapper's *Naukeurige beschryving* is one of the last isolarii in the series, and the only Dutch example to my knowledge.⁷⁰ This highlights the other side of the equation: the contrast between the vast output by Venetians and the paucity of examples by the major maritime powers. This is noteworthy given the investments of the Dutch, Flemish and British in trade in the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas, their thriving printing industries and their vast and multiform cartographic output. The British produced an astonishing number of books concerned with maritime matters and the Atlantic environs—notably Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations of the English Nation*, which promoted the settlement of English colonies in North America—as well as fictional works set on utopic islands.⁷¹ Yet Hacke's slim variation, cited earlier, is the only isolario, and it appeared at the end of the genre's life.

Evidently, the continuing appeal of island books stands apart from the cartographic and colonial enterprises of dominions with global ambitions. Scholars have noted the isolario's "ideologically anodyne aspect," as Thomas Cachey puts it, suggesting it be seen as "a place of humanistic and literary resistance to the emergence of modern colonial space."⁷² This interpretation accords with the compensatory function the genre may have had for Venetians. Attending to its public-making structure calls attention instead to the genre's agential role as a space in which authors and readers could negotiate between diverse and sometimes contradictory spatial and temporal orientations. I am positing, then, that the genre provided a focus for thinking about a space that was literally and figuratively in between.

We have already seen that the genre extended to the Ottoman world with Piri Reis, and as Heywood reminds us, we can never understand the complex vicissitudes of the Mediterranean from only one side or another.⁷³ Clearly there were shared interests, as Lupazzolo's manuscript demonstrates, and importantly the genre attests to the coexistence of religious and ethnic communities and more fluid understandings of identities and differences. This stands apart from negative tropes and forms of rhetoric that forged stereotypes about Ottoman Turks in early modern travel literature and chronicles, such as Sandys's *Relation*.

Over time, however, the growing distance between Europe and the Ottoman Turks becomes registered in the isolario. This is made explicit, as

noted above, in forewords, dedications and the incorporation of spaces in which conflicts with the Ottoman Empire were ongoing. Depopulation of the islands gradually permeates the literary descriptions. Bereft of people and populated instead with ruins and wildlife, the islands become empty places in a widening frontier.⁷⁴ This separation went hand in hand with the modern global orientation of *isolarii*. Porcacchi's attention to the precise location of Europe vis-à-vis the other parts of the world is one example in the midst of a trajectory, albeit a discursive one, toward Coronelli's *Isolario* that was initiated at the end of the fifteenth century with Henricus Martellus. Diffusion and emulation permeated Europe, as seen in Dapper's references to Italian *isolarii* in his Dutch and French editions, Hacke's literary example in Britain, André Thevet's unfinished French *Insulaire*, a manuscript *isolario* made in Spain and a German version printed in 1601 in Cologne.⁷⁵

The unfolding structure of the island format thematizes the process of constellation and fragmentation at the heart of the geographical enterprise. I am proposing, then, that the genre created a metatopical space that mirrored the archipelago, thereby providing a space for thinking about what lies in between. This was not the nonlocal "extrapolitical and secular metatopical space" that Charles Taylor defines as a public sphere.⁷⁶ The islands gave the *isolario* a reality, but as a space that was outside Europe, it could bring readers together around interests and investments in the region that crossed geographical boundaries. Antiquity was one of these. For Taylor, looking back at the past is something that nations have a propensity to do as a way to conceal "the artifice involved in gathering them into one political entity."⁷⁷ Like the metatopical spaces of the church and state, the space of the nation could use the past to "ground certain norms of legitimacy."⁷⁸ Instead of forging norms, engaging with antiquity enabled the *isolario* to open up a metatopical space between dominions and beyond the familiar compass of city or "nation" (in the early modern sense of a community of people sometimes defined by language and sometimes by faith). The aggregation of past and present history in the *isolario* would have appealed to readers across geographical boundaries in part because of geopolitical concerns, bringing together individuals unknown to each other before the concept of Europe as a unified entity was established. Although not a public sphere, the *isolario* was nevertheless a space for the formation of a public that was untethered from established hierarchical structures and from authorial intentions.

This dynamic between antiquity and public making resonates with Federico Chabod's reassessment of the difference between the medieval period and the Renaissance. In *Scritti sul Rinascimento* he argues that involvement with antiquity opened up a space for thinking outside of established authorities and universal ideas such as empire and the papacy that brought Europeans together.⁷⁹ In the study of antiquity he found "a common line of action," an idea and a myth, but one with a cultural and moral *renovatio* for "the renewal

of the single man and the renewal of the collective.”⁸⁰ Citing the change from practical advice on politics during the medieval period to Machiavelli’s political theory, Chabod insists that politics was transformed in the Renaissance into “a sphere of autonomous activity.”⁸¹ Importantly, the involvement of Machiavelli and others with the past is set against the rhetoric of surpassing the ancients—“of knowing more than what was known”—that characterizes sixteenth-century discourse, seen above in the claims made by Bordone.⁸² Chabod associates this future orientation of modern time with the “physical horizon” of rational thought, science, travel, discoveries and otherness.⁸³ Cultural and secular values were formed instead in relation to antiquity independently of institutional boundaries, “for good and for bad.”⁸⁴ For Chabod, Machiavelli’s ideas about the state and Montaigne’s self-criticism, as Diego Ramada Curto explains, “led . . . importantly to a *differentiation* between the spheres of knowledge and power. . . . The development of an autonomous sphere of sociability, born out of a comparison between Europe and other civilizations, created a ‘factor of civility which was no dependent of politics or economics.’”⁸⁵ Christianity was similarly set apart from an emerging “sense of European community—conceived as *respublica*, a space of civility and liberty”—that Chabod attributed to humanists across Europe.⁸⁶

Chabod’s emphasis on how engagement with antiquity altered thinking outside of existing models is similar to the point Nancy Bisaha makes in her recent study of humanist writing on the Ottoman Turks. In contrast to the rhetoric of the crusades and chivalry that characterizes medieval writing about Islam, she shows how humanists found in classical texts, especially Roman ones, alternative ways of understanding foreigners, particularly the Turks. “For the first time in centuries [humanists] could view this foreign people in secular terms—terms that might prove as hostile as religious slurs or more open-minded political and cultural evaluations.”⁸⁷ This entirely new discourse is important for Bisaha, as it is for Chabod, because it was ambivalent—positive and negative—and thus required reassessing how one understands difference.⁸⁸ By opening up the archipelago—a space that was physically in between and socially heterogeneous—to readers from diverse social stations, vocations and “nations,” the *isolario* similarly offered a locus for thinking about how communities coexist, for exploring the proximity of modes of living, customs, religious groups and foreigners, as well as the distance between them.

Bridging the mediaeval and early modern periods, *isolarii* maintain their ties to traditional authorities and forms of knowledge while finding new uses for them. Buondelmonti’s travels in the Aegean Sea were propelled by the quest for ancient knowledge, a past that he situated, as a medieval author, in the present. Bordone’s *Libro* straddles this divide, advancing beyond the Mediterranean and improving upon the ancients with modern time but retaining the heterogeneous time of the past. In Lupazzolo’s *isolario*, with its prospects, the archipelago emerges as a continuum of navigable spaces that mediate between the local context and the network of islands and cities seen

from above. With its legends, ancient and modern histories and accounts of the reterritorializing of islands by ancients, Byzantines, Venetians, Genoese, Persians and Ottomans, the *Isolario* calls to memory the ruptures and continuities of regimes that characterized the region. As a whole, the genre brings forward the horizontal movement of people and things—the migrating communities, goods and antiquities—and also the vertical flows of time and the coexistence of ethnic groups and monuments.

Exemplary social objects, island books condense the networks, communities, potential itineraries and investments into volumes that engender diverse, yet collective, experiences. Recall the mixture of antiquarian, humanist, maritime, navigational, geographic, topographic, literary, ethnographic and artistic knowledge that the genre contains. The format was receptive to multiple forms of knowledge acquired by those who were affected by the region, such as mariners who had navigated through the islands, antiquarians who had visited ancient ruins and Venetians who were looking back at their former colonies. It was an assembly of places in which forms of knowledge could become shared by pointing out aspects to others—to see “our Mediterranean” and “our sea,” as Martellus refers to it in his *Insularium*.⁸⁹ For Martin Heidegger, primordial forms of understanding—firsthand knowledge, or know-how gained through experience—are articulated in order to become intelligible.⁹⁰ Diverse nodes of experience are the primary mode of articulation that creates the conditions of possibility for language, enabling conversation through common understanding. Instead of assertions, routes and tenets, isolarii open up spaces for new understandings, multiple orientations and debate, disclosing the world through shared knowledge and discourse as it was becoming divided and distanced by geography. The isolario encouraged new journeys in a space that offered possibilities unavailable to Europeans elsewhere—possibilities for interactions, for testing out religious identities, for learning about the Ottomans and for acculturation. It enabled readers to learn about people, things and forms of knowledge—fluctuating regimes, navigation, monuments, diverse communities—and fostered communication between individuals about matters of concern.⁹¹

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NOTES

1. On the term, which came into use in 1534, and for a full analysis of the genre and bibliography, see George Tolias, “*Isolarii*, Fifteenth to Seventeenth

- Century,” in *The History of Cartography*, ed. David Woodward, vol. 3 (University of Chicago Press, 2007), esp. 264. On the Mediterranean see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000); Colin Heywood, ed., *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies on the History of Turkey, 13th–15th centuries* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001); Palmira Brummett, “Visions of the Mediterranean: A Classification,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 1 (2007); David Abulafia, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic, Religious, Political, 1100–1550* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Iain Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); William V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Colin Heywood, “Fernand Braudel and the Ottomans: The Emergence of an Involvement (1928–50),” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 23, no. 2 (2008): 165–84. For responses to Horden and Purcell, see Irad Malkin, ed., *Mediterranean Paradigms and Classical Antiquity* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
2. Vincenzo Coronelli, *Isolario, descrizione geografico-historica ecc. di tutte l'isole del globo terracqueo* (Venice, 1696).
 3. Tolias groups the volumes into three categories: antiquarian-humanistic, nautical and topical. Tolias, “Isolarii,” 282.
 4. Translations mine unless noted otherwise. Benedetto Bordone, *Libro . . . nel quale si ragiona de tutte l'isole del mondo* (Venice: Zoppino, 1528), Proemio. Full text available on Sabin Americana, 1500–1926.
 5. John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004).
 6. P.D.A Harvey, “Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe,” in *History of Cartography*, ed. J. Brian Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 482.
 7. Tolias, “Isolarii,” 267–268.
 8. On Henricus Martellus, see *ibid.*, 267–268; for location of manuscripts and bibliography, see 267, n. 30; Rushika Hage, “The Island Book of Henricus Martellus: The Portolan,” *Journal of the Washington Map Society* 56 (February 2003): 7–23.
 9. See Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things and Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 9.
 10. Frank Lestringant, “Cartographics: An Experience of the World and an Experiment on the World,” in *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 112.
 11. For bibliography, see Tolias, “Isolarii,” 263, n. 3. See also Chet Van Duzer, “From Odysseus to Robinson Crusoe: A Survey of Early Western Island Literature,” *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2006): 143–62; Van Duzer and Georg Christoph Munz, *Floating Islands: A Global Bibliography with an Edition and Translation of G.C. Munz's Exercitatio academica de insulis natantibus* (1711) (Los Altos: Cantor Press, 2004); Laura Cassi and Adele Dei, “Le esplorazioni vicine: geografia e letteratura negli Isolari,” *Rivista geografica italiana* 100 (1993): 205–69; Marziano Guglielminetti, “Per un sottogenere della letteratura di viaggio: gl'isolari fra quattro e cinquecento,” in *La letteratura di viaggio dal Medioevo al Rinascimento: generi e problemi*, ed. S. Benso (Alexandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1989): 107–17.

12. Frederick William Hasluck, "Notes on MSS. in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, no. 12 (1905–1906), 197.
13. Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Map-making after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: Nour Foundation, 1996), 32; Colin Heywood points out that this runs counter to Soucek's work on the Piri Reis island book in his essay "Standing on Hasluck's Shoulders: Another Look at Francesco Lupazzolo and his Aegean Isolario (1638)," unpublished manuscript, 2007, 1–27, 9, n. 15. I am indebted to Professor Heywood for permission to cite his unpublished study.
14. Heywood, "Standing on Hasluck's Shoulders," 9.
15. Bartolommeo da li Sonetti, *Isolario* (Venice: Guilelmus Anima Mia, Tridimensis, c. 1485/1486), fol. 2r. Typographical and textual evidence indicate the book was published in Venice, c. 1486. A second edition was published in 1532 with the title *Carte de mare Egeo, in rime*. On the manuscripts, see Wouter Bracke, "Une note sur l'Isolario de Bartolomeo da li Sonetti dans le manuscrit de Bruxelles, BR, CP, 17874 (7379)," *Imago Mundi* 53(2001), 128, n. 2. Massimo Donattini, "Bartolomeo da li Sonetti, il suo Isolario e un viaggio di Giovanni Bembo (1525–1530)," *Geographia Antiqua* 3–4 (1994–1995).
16. Tolias, "Isolarii," 266.
17. Ibid., 263.
18. Ibid., 283.
19. Wilson and Yachnin, *Making Publics*, 9.
20. On metatopicality see Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002); Charles Taylor, "Modernity and the Rise of the Public Sphere: The Tanner Lectures on Human Values" (February 25, 1992), <http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/lectures/documents/Taylor93.pdf>, accessed January 16, 2013.
21. Tomaso Porcacchi, *L'isole piv famose del mondo descritte* (Venice: Simon Galignani & Girolamo Porro, 1572).
22. Translations mine unless noted otherwise. Frank Lestringant, *Le livre des isles: atlas et récits insulaires de la Genèse à Jules Verne* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 22. On hypertext, 30.
23. Ibid., 31.
24. Ibid.
25. Tolias, "Isolarii," 263.
26. On time, see Anthony Grafton, "Dating History: The Renaissance & the Reformation of Chronology," *Daedalus* 132, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 74–85.
27. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: the Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 77–81.
28. Ibid., 161. See also 51–54.
29. Bordone, *Libro*.
30. Francesco Lupazzolo, "Isolario dell'Arcipelego et altri luoghi particolari, 1638," British Library, Lansdowne MS 792, Frontispiece.
31. Ibid., 60r.
32. For an excellent summary of the genre that addresses medieval and other antecedents, see Van Duzer, "From Odysseus." On the island books of classical antiquity, see Paola Ceccarelli, "I Nesiotika," *Annali Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 19 (1989), 903–935.
33. Aristotle, *De mundo*, trans. E.S. Forster (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914), Chapter 3, 392.b.14–394.a.6. Cited in Tolias, "Isolarii," 264.
34. See Van Duzer, "From Odysseus"; Tolias, "Isolarii," 264, n. 8.
35. Tolias, "Isolarii," 234 and n. 10.

36. An edition of Ptolemy circulated in 1410, but his system of ordering geography was not known to Silvestri, who organized the islands alphabetically instead. Massimo Donattini, *Spazio e modernità: libri, carte, isolari nell'età delle scoperte* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2000), 21. Also see Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby, *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London: F. Cass in association with the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 1989), 149. For a recent translation, see Domenico Silvestri and Jose Manuel Montesdeoca, *Los Islarios de la epoca del Humanismo: el De insulis de Domenico Silvestri. Edicion y traduccion* (Tenerife: Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales, 2004).
37. Two were composed in Rhodes—one in 1420, and an earlier one now lost—a third in Constantinople in 1422 and a fourth about 1430. On these dates and for bibliography, see Buondelmonti Tolias, “Isolarii,” 265, n. 20.
38. Ian R. Manners, “Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti’s *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997): 73.
39. *Ibid.*, 83.
40. P.P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese, 1346–1566* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958). The term may derive from the Genoese *mobba* (union) or the Arabic *maounach* (trading company) or *mauna* (help).
41. Manners, “Image of a City,” esp. 73.
42. F1588, P/13(27r) *Chios*, Buondelmonti, National Maritime Museum, London.
43. Bordone, *Libro*, 10r.
44. Louis Marin, “Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present,” *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 3 (1993): 406–407.
45. Krystel Chéhab, “A View onto the World: Tenochtitlan, Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period,” MA thesis, McGill University, 2007.
46. Bordone, *Libro*, Proemio.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, 45v.
49. *Ibid.*, 46.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Heywood, “Standing on Hasluck’s Shoulders.” The manuscripts were created in 1520–1521 and 1525–1526, with 131 and 219 entries, respectively. Tolias, “Isolarii,” 269–270. On Islamic mapping of the Mediterranean, see Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Map-making after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas*; S. Soucek, “The ‘Ali Macar Reis Atlas’ and the Dinez Kitabi: Their Place in the Genre of Portolan Charts and Atlases,” *Imago Mundi* 25 (1971): 17–27.
52. Bronwen Wilson, “Francesco Lupazzolo’s *Isolario* (1638): the Aegean Archipelago and Early Modern Historical Anthropology,” in *Venice in the Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Patricia Fortini Brown*, ed. Blake de Maria and Mary Frank (Milan: Five Continents, 2012), 186–99.
53. Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. *Memoirs et documents Turquie* 135, ff. 123–124: March 18, 1702; “Rellatione della vita e morte di Francesco Luppazzoli console Veneto nella citta di Smirne natto l’anno 1587 li 15 marzo e morto l’anno 1702 li 27 genaro.” Written by Bartholomeo Luppazzoli, *abbate*, and addressed from ‘Smirne’ to ‘M. de Pontchartrain’, March 18, 1702; Cited in Heywood, 3 and nn. 3–4, who notes that M. de Pontchartrain could be either Louis Phélypeaux or his son Jérôme, both of whom “were ministers of Louis XIV in charge of naval (and therefore Mediterranean) matters at this time” (f. 123); Heywood, “Standing on Hasluck’s Shoulders,” 5–6.

54. George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun an: Dom: 1610* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1637), 87.
55. Ibid., 30.
56. Lupazzolo, "Isolario."
57. F. Herzog, "Ein Türkisches Werk über das ägäische Meer aus dem Jahre 1520," *Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut. Athenische Abteilung* (1902).
58. Hasluck, "Depopulation." Jean de Thévenot refers to this in Part 1, at the beginning of Chapter 53, "On Some Villages of the Isle of Chio": "Here I shall mention the chief Villages of the Isle of *Chio*, which I did not see, but according as a Manuscript Relation that came to my Hands, Written by one who lived several Years in that Island, has informed me." Jean de Thevenot and Archibald Lovell, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant in Three Parts, viz. Into I. Turkey, II. Persia, III. The East-Indies* (London: H. Clark, 1687), 97.
59. Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 2.
60. Ibid., 67–201, esp. 169.
61. Antonio Pigafetta and T. J. Cachey, *The First Voyage around the World (1519–1522): An Account of Magellan's Expedition* (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1995).
62. Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio, in tre volumi divise* (Venice: Giunti, 1606–); Theodore J. Cachey, "From the Mediterranean to the World: A Note on the Italian 'Book of Islands' (Isolario)," *California Italian Studies*, no. 1 (2010): 6, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4wv7j9jc>, accessed, January 6, 2013.
63. Mr. Roberts, *Mr. Roberts's Adventures among Corsairs of the Levant . . .* (London: Published by Capt. William Hacke; James Knapton, 1699). Cited in Heywood, "Standing on Hasluck's Shoulders," 9.
64. Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia, a Costantinopoli* (Venice: Giacomo Franco, [1598] 1606).
65. This view is followed by a list of distances between trading stations and islands with seventy-two illustrations by several engravers and descriptions. The texts provide information about the state of the fortifications and useful information about Ottoman control, topography and food.
66. The dedication is to Don Juan of Austria, who commanded the Holy League.
67. See Michel Foucault's sixth principle, in which heterotopias are compensatory ideals for cities, nations or empires. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 22–7.
68. Kate Fleet, ed. *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
69. Olfert Dapper, foreword to *Naukeurige beschryving der Eilanden, in de Archipel der Middellantsche Zee . . .* (Amsterdam: Wolfgangh, Waesbergen, Boom, Someren en Goethals, 1688). The French translation adds the dates of the editions: Buondelmonte, 1440; Bordone, 1547; Porcacchi, 1610; and Boschini, 1668. Ibid. "Mais il faut aussi avouer qu'à la reserve de quelques-unes qui reconnoissent encore la domination & l'autorité des Vénitiens, elles gemissent presque toutes sous le joug pesant de l'Emprie des Turcs." Olfert Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'archipel* (Amsterdam: George Gallet, 1703).
70. According to Tolias, Rosaccio's *Viaggio* was reissued by Ägidius Sadeler. Tolias, "Isolarii," 276.

71. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or ouer Land* (London, 1589); Francis Bacon, "New Atlantis"; Thomas More, *De optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* (Leuven, 1516); Thomas More, *A Fruteful, and Pleas-aunt Worke of the Beste State of a Publyque Weale, and of the Newe yle called Vtopia*, trans. Ralph Robinson (London, 1551); as *Nova Atlantis* in 1624 and in English in 1627.
72. Cachey, "From the Mediterranean to the World," 11.
73. See Colin Heywood, review of Daniel Panzac, *La caravane maritime: marins européens et marchands ottomans en Méditerranée (1680–1830)*. *International Journal of Maritime History* 18, no. 1 (June 2006): 411–413. For a smart introduction to some of the problems, see Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).
74. Marco Boschini cites a range of causes for depopulation, including earthquakes and often corsairs. An example of the former is S. Erini, 24, and examples of pirates include Nampho, 22, Micone, 42, and Zinara and Levita, 56. Marco Boschini, *L'archipelago con tutte le isole, scogli, secche e bassi fondi* (Venice: F. Nicolini, 1658).
75. Some examples include manuscripts in the British Library, such as Arundel MS 93, that attest to the familiarity of Englishmen with Buondelmonti's isolario. Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Islario de Santa Cruz*, ed., transcribed, and studied by Mariano Cuesta Domingo (Madrid: Real Sociedad Geográfica, 2003). On the manuscript, see Mariano Cuesta Domingo, *Alonso de Santa Cruz y su obra cosmográfica* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983–1984); Jean Matal, *Insularium: orbis aliquot insularum, tabulis aeneis delineationem continens, in quo describuntur multae per Oceanum sparsae insulae, operi geographico quo Europa, Asia, Africa, et America describuntur* (Cologne, 1601); André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, ed. Frank Lestringant (Geneva: Droz, 1985). On Thevet, see Frank Lestringant, *Andre Thevet's La Cosmographie Universelle* (Paris: Pierre L'huillier et Guillaume Chaudière, [1575] 2002); Frank Lestringant, *André Thevet: Cosmographe des derniers Valois* (Geneva: Droz, 1991).
76. Taylor, "Modernity," 248. See also 229.
77. *Ibid.*, 245.
78. *Ibid.*
79. Federico Chabod, *Scritti sul Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967), 14.
80. *Ibid.*, 16. Chabod was responding, in part, to historical revisionism of Jacob Burckhardt's thesis in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Instead of continuity between the medieval period and the Renaissance, he insists on a difference between them (10–15).
81. *Ibid.*, 13.
82. *Ibid.*, 22. Chabod's example is Benedetto Varchi: "E nel mondo nuovo, tra l'altre infinite maraviglie non conosciute dagli antichi." Benedetto Varchi, *Lezioni sul Dante e prose varie di Benedetto Varchi*, ed. Giuseppe Aiazzi and Lelio Arbib, (Florence: Società Editrice delle Storie del Nardi e del Varchi 1841), 145.
83. Chabod, *Scritti*, 23–24.
84. *Ibid.*, 13.
85. Diogo Ramada Curto, "Rethinking the History of Europe: Old and New Approaches," in *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images, ca. 13th–ca. 18th Centuries*, ed. Anthony Molho, Diogo Ramada Curto, and Niki Koniordos (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007),

- 24, citing Federico Chabod, *Storia dell'idea d'Europa* (Bari: Laterza, 1995), 76.
86. Ramada Curto, "Rethinking"; Chabod, *Scritti*, 24.
 87. Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 50. See also James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," in *Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th–15th Centuries* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995); James Harper, "Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe," in *Translating Cultures: Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages*, ed. Ananya Jahanara and Deanne Williams Kabir (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
 88. On Chabod's nuanced view of otherness, see Stuart Woolf, "Reading Federico Chabod's *Storia dell'idea d'Europa* Half a Century Later," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 7 (2002), 203–46.
 89. Martellus is cited in Tolias, "Isolarii," 280. As Martin Heidegger explains, "Communication is never anything like a conveying of experiences . . . from the interior of one subject into the interior of another. Dasein-with is already essentially manifest in a co-affectedness and a co-understanding. In telling being-with becomes 'explicitly' *shared*; that is to say, it *is* already, but it is unshared as something has not been taken hold of and appropriated." Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 205.
 90. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 203–204; Hubert L. Dreyfus, *Being-in-the-World: A Commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time, Division I* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 184–185; "Telling and Sense," 215–224.
 91. See Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, eds., *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; Karlsruhe, Germany: ZKM/Center for Art and Media in Karlsruhe, 2005); Wilson and Yachnin, eds., *Making Publics*.

6 “Now through You Made Public for Everyone”

John Ogilby’s *Britannia* (1675), the 1598 Peutinger Map Facsimile and the Shaping of Public Space

Meredith Donaldson Clark

INTRODUCTION

For several days in March 1673, the *London Gazette* advertised the launch of a lottery at a popular local coffeehouse. Comprising over eight thousand prizes of books, the lottery was organized by the cartographer and entrepreneur John Ogilby as a fundraiser for his production of the first-ever road atlas of England and Wales, which was eventually published in 1675 as *Britannia*:

Mr. Ogilby, for the better enabling him to carry on his *Britannia*, by an Actual Survey, &c, has lately erected his standing-Lottery of Books, at Mr. Garaways Coffee house in *Exchange-Alley*, near the *Royal Exchange London*, which opening the 7 of *April* next, will thence continue without Intermission, till wholly drawn off: Where all future Adventurers, may by themselves or Correspondents, daily put in their Money upon the Author, according to his Proposals so generally approved of.¹

The lottery alone did not provide sufficient funds to finance the *Britannia* project, so Ogilby also solicited subscriptions for his road atlas, a method that had previously funded his expensive, elaborate book productions. “Encouragers,” as Ogilby called subscribers, paid a reduced amount upfront for the volume. To facilitate subscriptions outside London, Ogilby organized a broad network of acquaintances to receive subscriptions on his behalf.² The Encouragers also provided Ogilby with networks of interested and knowledgeable parties able to furnish him with regional information by way of written correspondence and the distribution of questionnaires. Cynthia Wall cites Ogilby’s efforts as an example of a map “enter[ing] the arena of popular *events* as well as of public spaces.”³ Before it was published, *Britannia* was first an occasion, an idea that circulated and drew together interested parties from a range of social classes, occupations and geographical locations.

Once published, *Britannia* presented an image of the nation the public had never seen in cartographic form: major roads drawn precisely to scale and plotted on individual strips (fig. 6.1). Each strip reads from bottom to top, with its own orientation shown by a compass rose; the six strips on each page emulate the appearance of papyrus or of long, narrow parchment. The features on the map are mimetic of travel; they informed travelers of distances between towns, locations of cross streets, various features of the topography, types of roads and their terrains. The one hundred copper-engraved maps were complemented and enhanced by two hundred pages of chorographical description which clarified the symbols and provided local information. These maps spatialized the narrative of travel, producing a new “form of nationhood,” to borrow Richard Helgerson’s phrase. Whereas previous atlases such as Christopher Saxton’s presented the nation through symbols of topography and authority gathered in a single view, the nation imagined by *Britannia* was constituted by mobility, the circulation of goods and services and the quotidian activity of travel. Ogilby’s aim, as he explained in his dedication to Charles II, was “to Improve Our Commerce and Correspondency at Home, by Registering and Illustrating Your Majesty’s High-Ways.”⁴ Although a road atlas was a novelty for British readers, Ogilby claimed that he had adapted the form of an ancient Roman itinerary map called the Peutinger map (c. 300 CE), which showed a route network for the entire Roman Empire.⁵ The 1598

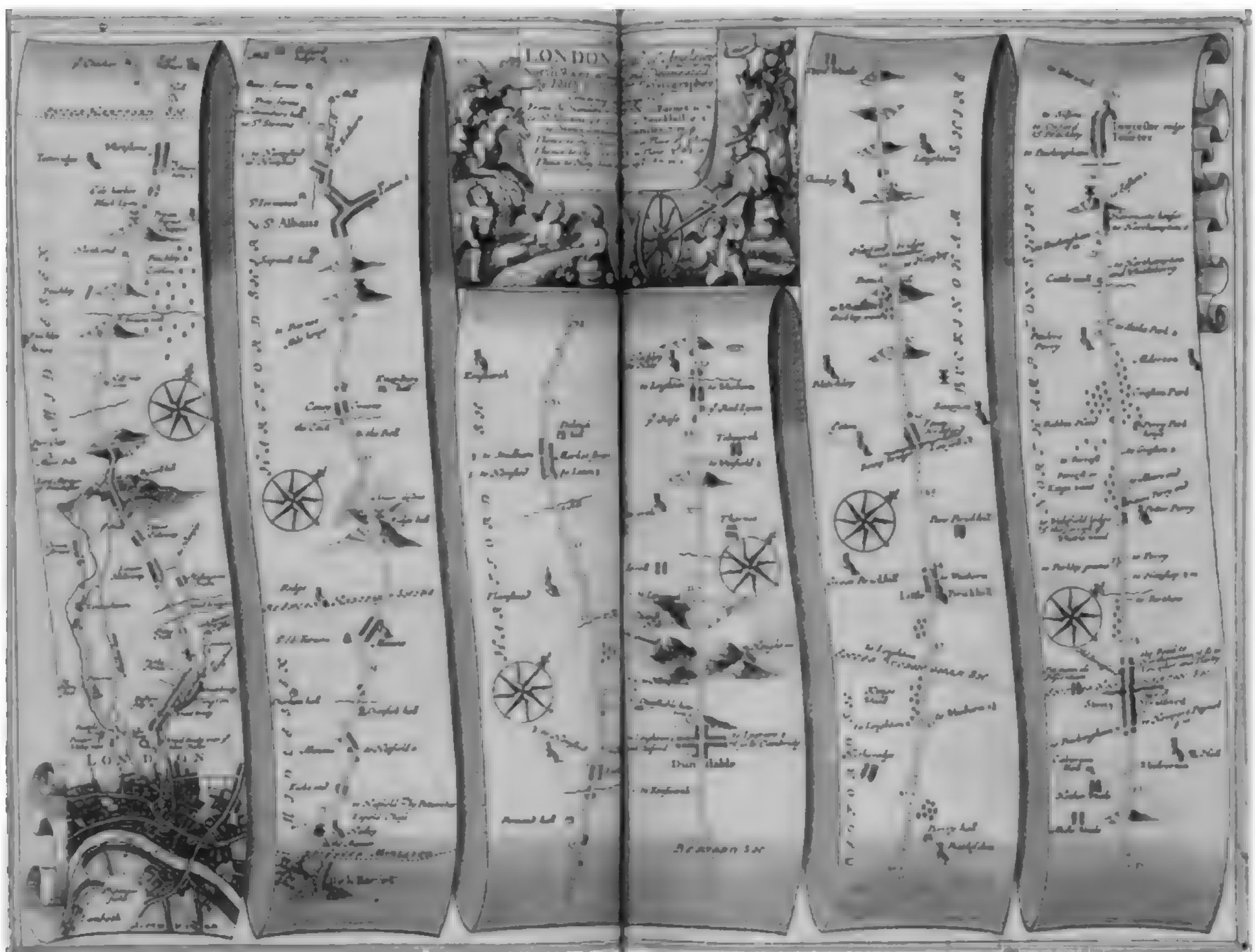


Figure 6.1 John Ogilby, Map of London to Holy-head, *Britannia*, 1675. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

printing of a copy of the Peutinger map, supervised largely by the Antwerp publisher Abraham Ortelius, was considered to be the earliest instance of a facsimile map, and its frequent reprinting in antiquarian books made the ancient map accessible to a wide readership which eventually included Ogilby.⁶ As we will see, this facsimile, and Ogilby’s knowledge of it, were made possible by the same elements that later made Ogilby’s *Britannia* a reality: collaboration, shared public interest, circulation of knowledge and the mobility of people and objects.

This chapter presents Ogilby’s *Britannia* and the 1598 facsimile of the Peutinger map as case studies in the making of early modern cartographic publics, where interest in historical maps influenced innovations in mapmaking. Public making, as defined by the Making Publics research project, is “the active creation of new forms of association that allowed people to connect with others in ways not rooted in family, rank or vocation, but rather founded in voluntary groupings built on the shared interests, tastes, commitments, and desires of individuals.”⁷ The study of the *making* of publics considers the fluctuation of publics in and out of existence; the transitory making and unmaking of publics requires the ephemeral qualities of participation, interest, activity, mobility and attention.⁸ Ogilby’s *Britannia* project served as a site where interested individuals coalesced: private individuals, often strangers to each other, invested money, information or attention, and so gathered into a public centered on the production of the road atlas. This public had tangible and intangible components: for example, coffeehouses like Garraway’s provided a setting to exchange ideas, while questionnaires distributed throughout England linked geographically separate individuals.⁹

Moreover, *Britannia* depended not solely on the mobility of people and paper, but on the mobility of cartographic forms across space and time. Antiquarians, humanists and cartographers were largely responsible for publicizing and disseminating knowledge of ancient and medieval maps, such as the Peutinger map. The rediscovery and publication of the Peutinger map, which was largely a result of its various owners’ sustained efforts to make the map universally accessible, eventually came to shape the narrational form of Ogilby’s *Britannia*. Like Ogilby’s atlas, the Peutinger map was a focal point for public making: as a precious source of information about the classical world, it was an object of desire and interest for antiquarians, and its facsimile edition was the result of a transnational collaboration. How Ogilby later learned of the map provides insights into the mechanisms of public making for the early modern period. By focusing on the question of why Ogilby felt it necessary to reference the Peutinger map in his *Britannia*, we can better understand Ogilby’s aims for the road atlas, the capacity of maps to shape public space and the uneasy yet effectual relationship between publics and the public, between collective agency and the powerful political processes of nation building in the late seventeenth century. Ogilby’s *Britannia* depended on public participation for its existence, yet once it was published, various publics reshaped its content to suit a variety of purposes: from antiquarian interest to travel planning to way-finding. Ogilby’s project was shaped by the

networks of knowledge and shared interest that, as a guide for wayfaring, it in turn ultimately facilitated.

AN OLD SOURCE FOR A NEW MAP

In the preface to his 1970 facsimile edition of *Britannia*, J.B. Harley argues that Ogilby's road map "marked the first big advance in English cartography since Tudor times." It was a "landmark," "brilliantly novel," and "the founding publication of a distinctive and enduring cartographic *genre*."¹⁰ Certainly, by charting motion, Ogilby's distinctive strip maps were unlike other national atlases, and contained new symbols and rules for reading. However, Ogilby's prefatory remarks to *Britannia* downplay any novelty of his atlas, instead emphasizing his return to an ancient cartographic form, which reached its greatest height, he argues, in the Peutinger map. Ogilby was not the first British cartographer or chorographer who knew about the Peutinger map, but he was among the first who recognized in ancient itineraries a suitable, reliable representational form for Britain.¹¹ He claims that the Peutinger map provided a model for accurate mapping:

Now, the Methods made use of by *Geographers* in the *Description* and *Illustration* of *Kingdoms* and *Countries* are various . . . but *Antiquity* and the *Practical Succession* of *Geography* has more especially commended to Us the *Itinerary Way* as the most Regular and Absolute; and the greatest Height the *Prosecution* of this Method hath arriv'd to beyond the common *Itinerary Tables*, are those *Chorographical Charts* or *Tabulae Peutingerianae*, . . . which being Cut in Brass and Illustrated by *Mark Velser*, are to be seen in *Bertius's* Edition of *Ptolomy* and elsewhere.¹²

Ogilby's reference to the Peutinger map attributed an ancient pedigree to what would appear to his reading public as a novel, and perhaps disorienting, cartographic form. On first glance, Ogilby's strip maps, despite some obvious differences, do resemble the Peutinger map more than they resemble the county maps of Saxton's *Atlas*; however, some historians question the actual cartographic relationship between Ogilby's *Britannia* and the Peutinger map. Catherine Delano-Smith, for example, argues that "none of the maps [Ogilby] was responsible for has any connection, visual or otherwise, with the Roman map."¹³ Yet the question of why Ogilby chose to reference the Peutinger map in his introduction, regardless of how closely his strip maps actually resemble the Peutinger map cartographically, is one that is frequently overlooked in the debate about the utility and cartographic precedents of Ogilby's *Britannia*. The answer, I will argue, has much to tell us about how early modern publics both shared and shaped cartographic forms. The influence of the Peutinger map on Ogilby's *Britannia* goes well beyond its visual appearance, as Ogilby drew on his reading

public's knowledge and perception of the Peutinger map as a representation of motion and political power, shaped largely by its 1598 facsimile.

Yet Ogilby never would have seen the Peutinger map in the first place were it not for a small group of collectors and antiquarians whose interest in this obscure parchment map and the worldview depicted by its form promoted the eventual publication of the facsimile version. Just as Ogilby's *Britannia* was dependent upon the attention and involvement of an interested public, so too is the publication history of the facsimile edition of the Peutinger map illustrative of the role of public making for the transmission of knowledge during the early modern period. Like many early modern humanists who were aware of the Peutinger map, Ogilby perhaps believed it to be the ancient original. However, the unique map now held at Vienna's Nationalbibliothek carries a complex provenance: it is likely a twelfth- or thirteenth-century copy of a lost fourth-century version, itself perhaps a copy of an even earlier itinerary of Roman roads. It stands as the sole extant *itineraria picta*, that is, a painted itinerary or map, rather than a written list, from the Roman era. Measuring 34 by 675 centimeters, the Peutinger map is highly compressed longitudinally and its orientation is problematic (fig. 6.2). It consists of eleven pieces of parchment, fastened

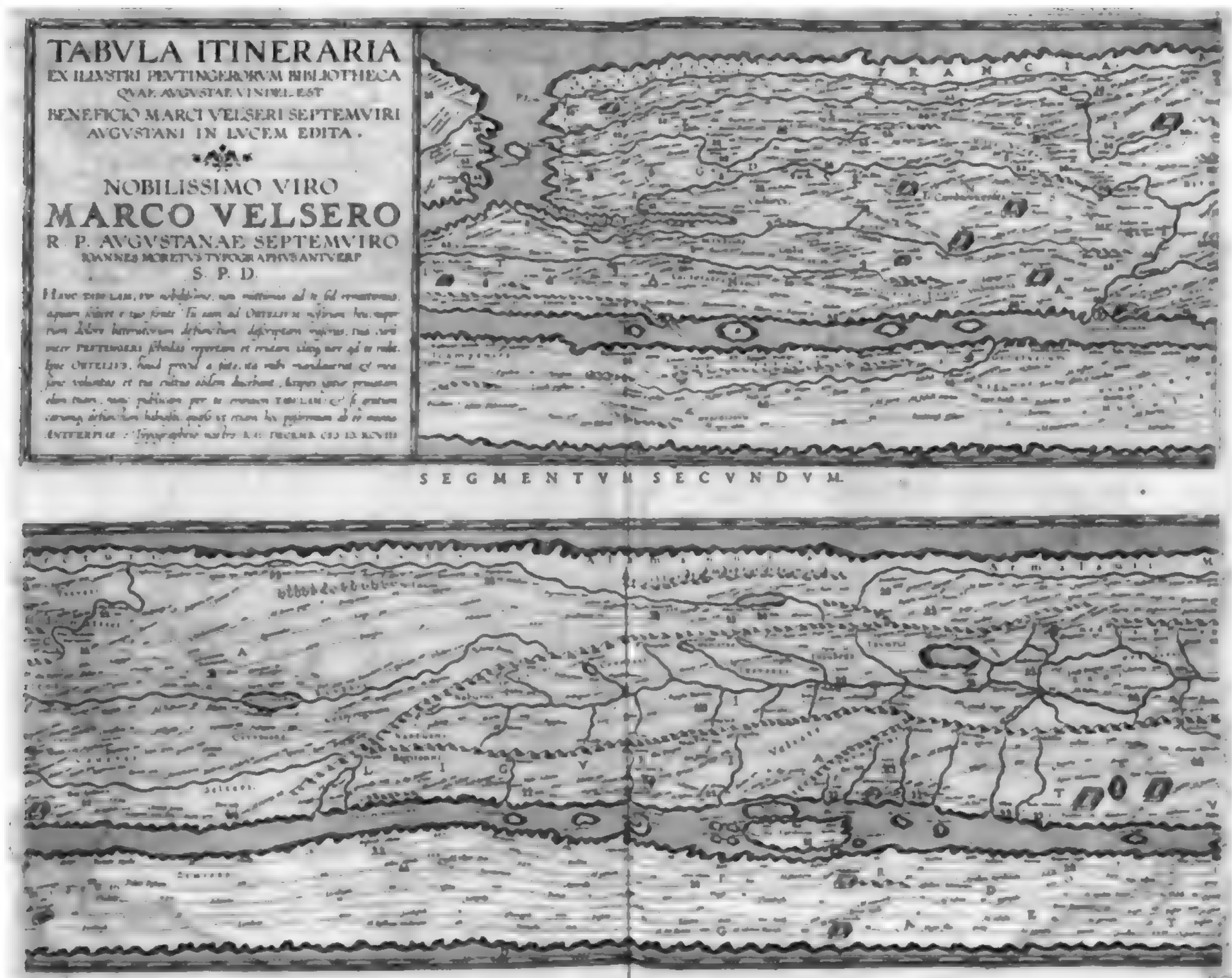


Figure 6.2 Abraham Ortelius, Facsimile of the Peutinger Map, sections 1 and 2, *Parergon*, 1624. University of Aberdeen.

together as a scroll. Much evidence suggests that the medieval transcription was copied from an incomplete version.¹⁴

Scholars have come to no certain conclusions regarding the intended purpose of the Peutinger map, which continues to be elusive and highly contested. Although it was once thought to be an official, state-sponsored, possibly military map of the Roman *cursus publicus*, recent interpretations have varied widely.¹⁵ Still, scholars consistently maintain that regardless of its date and purpose, the map is an innovative cartographic form representing both the boundaries of land and the experience of motion *through* the land. The Peutinger map plots both geography and narrative, and as knowledge of it spread in the sixteenth century, it drew together those interested in mapmaking, historical cartography, antiquity and the Roman Empire.

The publication in 1598 of an engraving of the Peutinger map was the result of an intense desire to make the artifact public.¹⁶ The first mention of the extant medieval manuscript comes from the Viennese humanist Konrad Celtis's instructions for the bequeathment of the map to Peutinger, and his intentions for the map determined much of its subsequent history: "I bequeath to Mr Dr Conrad Peutinger the *Itinerarium Antonini Pii* . . . ; I wish, however, and request that after his death it should be turned over to public use, such as some library."¹⁷ Celtis's wish accords with the humanist impulse to collect and display antiquities, including ancient and medieval maps, in cabinets of curiosities, making them available for consultation. However, while it was in the possession of Peutinger and his sons, the map was widely known and sought after for purchase, but rarely was anyone able to consult it directly; it was famous more through rumor and report than through direct contact. According to Welser in his commentary on the Peutinger map (known as the *Praefatio*), it was the humanist Beatus Rhenanus's description of the map that "aroused an intense desire in many people to inspect it."¹⁸ Moreover, for several decades the map itself was lost, and all that was known of it were a few partial sketches. The early incomplete attempts by Peutinger, and later by his relative Marcus Welser, to create a facsimile edition of the map from these sketches were initial efforts to give public accessibility to this rare artifact. As Welser wrote in the *Praefatio*, which introduced his 1591 publication of the sketches, he considered them "worthy of publication, so as not to be envied by the public."¹⁹

When the sketches, and later the rediscovered map, came into Welser's possession, they were made public first by becoming an object of interest to Welser's vast network of acquaintances, which was made up of scholars, collectors and antiquaries across continental Europe and Britain. Welser was a powerful Augsburg patrician and high-ranking city councilor, but he is remembered mainly as a learned and avid patron of the arts and natural philosophy.²⁰ As the eighteenth-century biographer Pierre Bayle reported, Welser "was both a lover and a protector of learning and learned men . . . and no man ever had more friends than he in the republic of letters."²¹ Although correspondents did travel, correspondence travelled far more frequently,

and the form of association known as the "Republic of Letters" was one network in which knowledge was shared, spread and made public. It was "a community held together by ink," a "republic" whose ideal, though not always its reality, was "an egalitarian world . . . in which scientific opinions could be exchanged without the rancour of national, religious, historical or other barriers."²² One of the most prolific members of the Republic of Letters, and a frequent correspondent of Welser, was Ortelius, who, as "a great student of antiquities" and a collector of "rare and ancient objects," was in regular contact with a diverse group of scholars, collectors and craftsmen.²³ Due to his long-standing interest in historical cartography, Ortelius spent several decades searching for the Peutinger map, until it was found by Welser in 1597, the year before Ortelius's death. Through the collaboration of Welser and Ortelius, the Peutinger map entered wide circulation when it was published in facsimile in 1598, yet Ortelius did not live long enough to see the final product.

By publishing the full facsimile, Welser fulfilled and surpassed Konrad Celtis's wish that the map be made available to the public in a library. The printer Jan Moretus's dedication to Welser indicates his public-making intentions: "This map, most noble lord, we do not send to you, but we return it to you, as if water from your own fountain. . . . Accept, therefore, this map, once your private property, now through you made public for everyone."²⁴ As the dedication affirms, Welser as patron and owner receives back what is his own, but Moretus's conventional image of waters returning to their source in the fountain suggests that Welser's sponsorship of the publication served the public good, and watered the public garden of learning. Moretus's praise of Welser's intentions also confirms the self-awareness of publics as described by Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin: "there can be no public where there is not also an active idea among the participants that they are doing something public—something open to others and potentially boundless in its effects."²⁵ Welser's stated purpose to publish the map "so as not to be envied by the public" evidences his knowledge not only that he was doing something public, but also that public activity is capable of benefitting the members of a public. His publishing project aimed to expand knowledge, but it was not solely the act of publication that made the Peutinger map public. Rather, the map was published into a preexisting public, the Republic of Letters, already curious and eager to see the map for themselves. Moreover, the published map added members to this public, by introducing them to the existence of this map for the first time. When objects are made public through processes like facsimile reproduction, they become, as Wilson and Yachnin observe, "capable of small- and large-scale movement at the same time that they [make] it possible for their makers and partakers to develop an enhanced public life."²⁶ The facsimile-making process turned a monument (something which interested people travel to see) into a mobile object, whose travel and exchange had the capacity to shape new publics.

The facsimile map enabled its public to consult the Peutinger map themselves for a wide range of information, rather than rely on the time and generosity of those few with immediate access to the original. Although the *Praefatio* was not reprinted with the 1598 facsimile, Welser's commentary does suggest how the map would have been received by members of the Republic of Letters. The *Praefatio* highlights some of the "many long-standing, insoluble disputes among scholars of history [that] might be settled once and for all by this map," such as how some "learned scholars considered this map to be a decisive factor for establishing irrefutable borders."²⁷ Phrases which appear on the map such as *Hic Alexander responsum accepit usq[ue] quo Alexander* (Here Alexander received the response, "How far, Alexander?") and *desertum ubi quadraginta annis erraverunt filii Israelis ducente Moyse* (the desert where for forty years the children of Israel wandered, led by Moses) provided clues for antiquarian studies of classical and biblical history.²⁸ Welser, who for the sake of clarity believed "it mandatory to add some comments to [the Peutinger map]," also included in his *Praefatio* his "verdict concerning the maker, the map, the map sheets, the roads, and their numbers, . . . [and] about individual place-names."²⁹ Others, like Ortelius, were drawn to maps like the Peutinger map as much "as historical documents as [for] their usefulness in the compilation of new maps."³⁰ The public for the Peutinger map expanded even more widely when the historian and cartographer Petrus Bertius reprinted the plates with his own commentary in his *Theatrum Geographiae Veteris* (1619), and when, after 1624, editions of Ortelius's *Parergon*, an atlas of historical cartography, included the Peutinger map with Welser's commentary.³¹ The print history of the Peutinger map is an illustrative example of how public demand and public participation can result in the creation of an object (in this case, a printed map), which can then expand and reshape the very public which encouraged its existence. Ogilby, although he was far removed from the intended public of the facsimile edition, nevertheless was a major beneficiary of the endeavor to make the map public.

ACCURACY, ROYALISM AND NARRATIVE: OGILBY'S USE OF THE PEUTINGER MAP IN *BRITANNIA*

From Ogilby's prefatory remarks in *Britannia*, we can trace his knowledge of the Peutinger map through Bertius back to Welser's initial efforts to create a facsimile edition, but this does not explain why he chose to align his own atlas with this ancient prototype. Ogilby wanted his reading public to connect the strip maps of *Britannia* with the Peutinger map, even though, for several reasons, these separate cartographic publications are an unexpected pairing. First, Ogilby's assertion that the Peutinger map was the height of accuracy was not the consensus. As William Wotton observed twenty years later in his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*,

ancient maps "were rude, and imperfect . . . neither exact nor beautiful," and as for the Peutinger map sheets, "if a Man will compare them with *San-son's* or *Blaeu's*, he will see the difference."³² Wotton's aim in *Reflections* was to champion the side of the moderns, in the debate between the ancients and the moderns, by arguing that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cartography provided a more accurate picture of the universe than that of the ancients.³³ Why, then, would Ogilby boast repeatedly of his atlas's indebtedness to an ancient antecedent? Second, as Delano-Smith has shown, the form of *Britannia* more closely resembles Matthew Paris's thirteenth-century drawn itineraries, which Ogilby could have easily seen through his association with the Royal Society, than it does the Peutinger map.³⁴ Again, why would Ogilby forge such a strong connection with an ancient Roman map, and ignore a medieval English prototype? To begin to answer these questions, Ogilby's project should be seen in the context of what Howard Marchitello describes as the "simultaneous double movement" of early modern English cartography: "a movement toward greater technical accuracy" and "a movement away from 'pure' survey and cartography" toward "a greater overt concern with narrative."³⁵ To Ogilby, the Peutinger map suggested an innovative model for measuring space accurately, for presenting a persuasive image of political power and for shaping space through a visual form which was distinctly narrational; in all respects, however, the Peutinger map was a model for Ogilby to surpass.

The "movement toward greater technical accuracy" often involved comparisons between modern innovations and ancient models, and Ogilby's references to the Peutinger map primarily articulated his position in the debate about ancients and moderns. At first glance, Ogilby's claims for "the *Itinerary Way* as the most Regular and Absolute" and for the Peutinger map as the "greatest Height the *Prosecution* of this Method hath arriv'd to" seem to place him on the side of the ancients. However, Ogilby clarified that the Peutinger map holds only a "faint . . . Resemblance" to what his own maps achieve by what he calls "Actual Dimensuration."³⁶ To Ogilby, the ancient itineraries may have suggested the form, but his labors perfected it. As evidence of his achievement of a new standard of accuracy, he cited his regularization of the statute mile to 1760 yards, the scale of one inch to one mile, the independent plotting of roads, which greatly reduced the risk of accumulated errors, and the exact measurement of roadways using an instrument called the "wheel dimensurator" or "waywiser."³⁷ Ogilby presented his enterprise as triumphing equally over ancient maps and those modern maps produced in the preceding century: "*the Propinquity of This Our Design to Perfection . . . ha[s] Given such Measures to The Virtuosi of the World, as Forein Princes and States shall be Glad to Imitate.*" The ancients, despite their "Emulation" and competition, "were infinitely short in their Performances" of geography, he writes, and the moderns produced maps that were merely "*Guess-Plots*," since their "*Perambulated Projections*" were "much inferior to what might have been done

by a strict *Dimensuration*.”³⁸ Ogilby presented the design and achievement of *Britannia* as an advance in cartographic accuracy and as the triumph of modern measurement and industry over the ancients. The Peutinger map afforded Ogilby an ancient model at once to emulate and exceed.

Second, apart from its improved accuracy, Ogilby’s *Britannia* endeavored to be “a movement away from ‘pure’ survey and cartography” by shaping a narrational representation of the nation founded on history, quotidian activity and hopes for the nation’s future. *Britannia* begins with a historical survey of London, and contained within the chorographical text accompanying each strip map are descriptions of antiquities, classical etymologies and local histories, together with schedules for market fairs and suggested establishments for dining and boarding. Ogilby’s aim for his road atlas, as outlined in his dedication to the King, was to “improve our commerce and correspondence at home,” “maintai[n] Privileges,” “encourag[e] Industry” and “incit[e] the whole *Kingdom* to a *Noble Emulation* of recovering a *Pristine Splendor*, establish a *Present Greatness*, or la[y] Foundations of a *Future Glory*.”³⁹ Through *Britannia*, as Delano-Smith observes, Ogilby presented “a portrait of a well-endowed and prosperous nation.”⁴⁰ Moreover, Ogilby’s references to the Peutinger map allowed him to link England to its ancient Roman past. As Robert Mayhew notes, the power attributed to the king in *Britannia* is a Roman imperial power: Ogilby referred to Britain as that “*which Added so Great a Lustre to the Roman Diadem*,” and he described London as the “*Emporium and Prime Center of the Kingdom, Your Royal Metropolis*.”⁴¹ Such descriptions mimic the layout and appearance of the Peutinger map, where all roads extend out from the sceptered and circumscribed figure of Roma. Delano-Smith suggests that Ogilby turned to the Peutinger map rather than Matthew Paris’s devotional maps because Rome would have been a much grander comparison for his readers than medieval Europe.⁴² Similarly, Ogilby’s Latin titles—*Britannia* for the ornately bound volume and *Itinerarium Angliae* for the strip maps alone, which could be bought individually or cheaply bound—suggest the nation’s ancient Roman past. The Peutinger map provided a model for showing, as the antiquarian John Ward recognized in 1732, an image of the nation “collect[ed]” “into one view . . . laid out as distinctly almost as a private estate,” which suggested unity and centralized control.⁴³

The Peutinger map afforded Ogilby a cartographic model in which narrative elements became central to the shaping of national space, which Ogilby maintained was an improvement over previous early modern maps. Narrative features were not absent from previous national atlases: titles such as *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* or *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* alluded to the affinity between maps and theaters.⁴⁴ Representations of sailing ships, surveying instruments and scenes of historical episodes narrate the exploratory, scientific and political forces that contributed to mapmaking. Yet in atlases like Saxton’s, these “fragments of stories” are marginalized;⁴⁵ as Marchitello argues, Saxton’s maps “seem not to narrate,

but rather appear to describe objectively the phenomenal world," even though, as he goes on to show, all "maps are narratives." By contrast, the Peutinger map, like other itineraries, makes narrative explicit: "the nature of these maps—the *desire* of these maps—is entirely narrational."⁴⁶ Yet Ogilby's written descriptions of travel go beyond the Peutinger map's example by complementing the strip maps. Each of Ogilby's maps plots a single course, and tells a single story. The accompanying chorographical material enhances the linear, narrative thrust of the maps:

We proceed then, as in all Direct Roads, from the Standard in Cornhill, London, through Cornhill, Cheapside, Newgate-Street, Newgate, Snowhill, and Holborn . . . leaving the Lord-Mayors Banqueting-house on the Right. . . . You come to a Descent sprinkled with Woods, whence by Loudwater, a small village, (A Brooke accompanying your Road on the Left) at 32³ you enter High-Wickham, seated in a pleasant Vale, a large and Well-built Town, numbring near 200 houses, with several good Inns, as the Cathern Wheel, etc. Is govern'd by a Mayor, Recorder, etc. Sends Burgesses to Parliament, hath a well-frequented Market on Fridays, and two fairs annually.⁴⁷

This is a recognizably quotidian description, which resonates with Michel de Certeau's theorization of a "tour." A tour, like Ogilby's map, "spatializ[es] actions" and "organizes *movements*."⁴⁸ Ogilby's "you" speaks inclusively to a public: by referencing features universally recognizable to the traveler, such as landmarks, bridges, fields and forests, seasonal events and lodging houses, Ogilby allows "the well-acquainted traveler (or reader) [to color] in the map spaces with personal reality, personal history, or personal possibility."⁴⁹ Building on the narrational potential of the Peutinger map, *Britannia* transformed the narrative of the everyday into the narrative of the nation.

Similarly, Ogilby's frontispiece presents quotidian practices and processes as a symbol for the nation (fig. 6.3).⁵ The frontispiece, engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar, is entirely narrational, with numerous figures all engaged in activities: the central figures are men on horseback beginning a journey with a strip from Ogilby's map; they travel through a landscape enlivened by maritime trade and commerce, agriculture, husbandry, hunting and fishing. Among such scenes of everyday life, surveyors are at work: tramping across fields using a waywiser, huddled around a table of surveying equipment and discussing Ogilby's work. The frontispiece declares the triumph of Ogilby's modern innovation by featuring an array of surveying instruments in the right foreground: a cross-staff, a magnetic compass, a Gunther's (surveyor's) chain, a simple theodolite, a portable quadrant, a protractor, a pair of compasses, a surveyor's rule and a globe.⁵¹ Rather than include those architectural, nationalist or historical emblems that were typical features of early modern atlas frontispieces, Hollar's engraving



Figure 6.3 Wenceslaus Hollar, Frontispiece, *Britannia*, by John Ogilby, 1675. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

displays the processes that created the atlas: travel, public discourse, the use of scientific instruments and the transfer of knowledge across space and time. In fact, the fortified watchtower with its armed statues on *Britannia*'s frontispiece seems to serve as a visual quotation of conventional architectural details that would have been recognizable to a public familiar with earlier atlases such as John Speed's *Theatre*. Speed's *Theatre* presents the architectural gallery of Britain's ancient worthies (a Roman, a Britain, a Saxon, a Dane and a Norman) as a unified symbol of the nation, suggesting a relationship between the atlas and political power. On Ogilby's frontispiece, the watchtower is slanted to the side, which makes it appear as if the frontispiece to Speed's *Theatre* has shifted aside and opened, revealing the dynamic, active landscape of the nation lying behind the static exterior. The watchtower can be seen both as a symbol of political power and surveillance and as a theatrical set design framing the mobile inhabitants of a flourishing nation.

The frontispiece may also have set up readers' expectations for the utility of *Britannia*, which the atlas was unable to fulfill in its original form as a large, bulky bound volume. Significantly, not a single representation of Ogilby's maps on the frontispiece resembles the bound atlas *Britannia*; instead, the banners displayed by the cherubs, the strip map in the left foreground and the one studied by the travelers on horseback all, as Garret Sullivan notices, suggest the form of the Peutinger map. Sullivan argues that the frontispiece “offers us not a descriptive but metaphoric use of Ogilby's maps, one that the materiality of the atlas would resist being put into practice,” and that “metaphoric” use was shaped by Ogilby's understanding of the potential utility contained within the form of the Peutinger map.⁵² The frontispiece is another example of Ogilby's claim not only for the influence of the Peutinger map on *Britannia*, but also for his own atlas's perfection of the form. Ogilby's claims for accuracy, his praise of Charles II and his narrational presentation of space all have antecedents in the Peutinger map, but these different emphases obscured how and where Ogilby intended *Britannia* to be used. In the years that followed the publication of *Britannia*, the atlas itself became an object of potential public making, and was reshaped to serve a variety of purposes.

OGILBY'S *BRITANNIA* AS A PRODUCT AND PRODUCER OF PUBLICS

Hollar's frontispiece hints at the various publics that contributed to the collaborative *Britannia* project. The group huddled around the table of instruments evokes those who met at coffeehouses to discuss the latest publications and newest methods of mapmaking. In fact, by hosting his lottery at a coffeehouse, and by offering tickets ranging from five shillings to ten pounds, Ogilby ensured that a broad range of coffeehouse patrons could support the *Britannia* project. At coffeehouses, John Houghton wrote in

1701, “the rich and the poor meet together, as also do the learned and the unlearned. It improves arts, merchandize, and all other knowledge; for here an inquisitive man . . . may find out such coffee-houses, where men frequent, who are studious in such matters as his enquiry tends to.”⁵³ Garraway’s was no exception, as it was a favorite haunt of the Royal Society, where Ogilby often met with Robert Hooke and other Society members to solve the more technical challenges of road mapping.⁵⁴ Hollar’s representation of surveyors tramping through the field and interacting with locals also alludes to the means by which Ogilby marshaled support for his project from beyond the coffeehouse doors. One method of soliciting information came by way of a 1673 questionnaire entitled “Queries in order to the Description of *Britannia*,” designed with help from members of the Royal Society, including Sir Christopher Wren, John Hoskyns, Robert Hooke, John Aubrey and Gregory King. Requesting “Remarques of the Country of Places of their Residence,” the questionnaire turned the nation into a public “house of experiment,” asking individuals to provide information on cities, towns, structures, antiquities, forests and parks, natural features, minerals, boundaries, places of interest, customs and manners and coastlines.⁵⁵ The *Britannia* project thus appealed to those interested in the new science and in improved methods of information gathering, to those with strong ties to their home counties and to those with interests in antiquarianism and local history. In his public appeals to seek out the funds, knowledge and support of a public, Ogilby’s production and marketing of *Britannia* diverged strikingly from the first generation of national atlases, which proceeded largely with government or aristocratic patronage.⁵⁶ Having been named Charles II’s “Royal Cosmography” several years earlier, Ogilby garnered keen monarchial interest and funding for his mapmaking, but his primary support came from his reading public, whose enthusiasm he sustained by involving them in various stages of the project. *Britannia* was a cartographic enterprise dependent upon the interest and information supplied by a large network of those individuals who in turn became its reading public. By soliciting local information from this interested public, Ogilby’s *Britannia* created a version of space to facilitate knowledge and travel; however, as I will argue, once published, *Britannia* was reimagined and reshaped by the same public that had made the project possible.

In its earliest published edition, *Britannia* was in many ways enigmatic, raising questions of utility both for its initial audience and for later readers.⁵⁷ Its form suggests its usefulness on the road, but its prohibitive size suggests otherwise.⁵⁸ Thomas Gardner’s assertion in his preface to *A Pocket-Guide to the English Traveller* (1719) that Ogilby’s maps were better suited to be “Entertainment for a Traveller within Doors, than a Guide to him upon the Road” implies that strip maps rarely found their way into a traveler’s saddlebag.⁵⁹ Yet the categories of information Ogilby solicited from his network of contributors indicates that *Britannia* was intended as an aid for actual travel. A second question of utility is that of intended

audience: *Britannia* was very much a work *by* the public, but it is less clear whether or not it was a work *for* the public. On one hand, Ogilby advertises his atlas's capacity to "Benefit the Nation," while on the other, his rhetoric stresses royal power: phrases such as "*a True Prospect of This Your Flourishing Kingdom*" suggest the map is not for the public but for the king alone.⁶⁰ The drawing of Ogilby kneeling at King Charles II's feet, grasping his hand and presenting him with the Book of Subscriptions for the *Britannia* provides a visual representation of this tension, where public support for *Britannia* is tangibly superseded by royal approval.⁶¹ Some historians have posited Ogilby's aim of legitimizing royal power as the reason for its immobile form, suggesting that way-finding was never the true purpose of the atlas. Mayhew argues that *Britannia* was meant to praise and flatter Charles II, as a "gesture of loyalty." To Delano-Smith, Ogilby intended *Britannia* to "serv[e] the ends of nationalism." Sullivan claims that *Britannia* was meant to give Ogilby the "approbation of monarchs, aristocrats and wealthy merchants."⁶² However, while *Britannia*'s definitive *intended* purpose may remain debatable, much can be learned from how *Britannia* participated in the shaping of space: how it was used, viewed and changed by its public. Ogilby's *Britannia* holds various elements in a tenuous balance: claims of the Peutinger map's influence, deferent praise of Charles II, information supplied by an interested public, strip maps that visualize motion, prose narratives of travel and distance charts. Some of these features benefit the traveler, some the "armchair geographer" and some the aims of nation building.⁶³ The tension and discrepancy between these features is what raises questions of utility.

It is not surprising, then, that *Britannia* did not maintain its fixed form very long. References to the Peutinger map allowed Ogilby to shape national space in a way that praised the monarch and advertised his own achievement, but once his atlas was made available to a public, they, in turn, experimented and reshaped its representational form, as is clear from the subsequent print history of the strip maps.⁶⁴ Ogilby's publication of *Itinerarium Angliae* in the same year as *Britannia* suggests that he recognized the need for a more portable and affordable version of his maps.⁶⁵ Individual map sheets were made available for sale, and the *Itinerarium* was a cheaply bound edition of the strip maps alone, divorcing them from the ornamental, emblematic and descriptive material comprised by the frontispiece, cartouches and chorographical texts. If *Britannia* was used in the library, while *Itinerarium* was used on the road, then we can read Ogilby's work as emerging in the gap between what de Certeau considers the "'geographical' space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions" and what he calls the experience of "ordinary practitioners" who "make use of spaces that cannot be seen."⁶⁶ By occupying this gap and existing neither solely for the study nor solely for the road, *Britannia* provided multiple ways of measuring and experiencing travel, and could be excerpted and revised to suit a number of separate purposes.

The most frequently reprinted and widely used derivative of *Britannia* was not *Itinerarium Angliae*, but rather Mr. Ogilby's *Tables of his Measur'd Roads* (1676), published with his step-grandson William Morgan, which consisted of tables of calculated distances between locations, bearing little resemblance to the strip maps or descriptive text of *Britannia*.⁶⁷ This form was, in fact, a response to pirated and error-filled versions of Ogilby's data which were appended to new editions of earlier mapping projects such as Speed's *Theatre*.⁶⁸ The imposition of routes and distances from Ogilby's *Britannia* onto earlier surveys such as Saxton's *Atlas* was common, such as in Philip Lea's large-scale map of England and Wales entitled *The Travellers Guide* (1687).⁶⁹ However, reissues of actual material from *Britannia* tended to take two forms. Morgan's *The Traveller's Guide: Or, A Most Exact Description of the Roads of England* (1699) presents itself in its preface as fulfilling *Britannia*'s true purpose as a way-finder, but it is a pocket book of Ogilby's chorographical descriptions, with the maps missing; it is the opposite of *Itinerarium Angliae*, even though it uses that phrase as a subtitle. As Sullivan argues, *The Traveller's Guide* "asserts that maps are important here only as sources of information abstractable from the form of the map itself."⁷⁰ Within the span of two years, three other publications reduced and corrected the strip maps, leaving aside the distance charts and chorographical material. Gardner presented his *Pocket-Guide* (1719), with its re-engraving of the strip maps, as an amendment to Ogilby's *Tables* and *Traveller's Guide* and as a more useful version of *Itinerarium*. The same year, John Senex published his *Actual Survey of all the Principal Roads of England & Wales*, claiming in his subtitle that his maps "improved, very much corrected, and made portable" Ogilby's original. One year later, Emanuel Bowen and John Owen published *Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improved*, a complete re-engraving of all Ogilby's maps together with densely packed information about gentry families, local history and heraldry.⁷¹

As Sullivan concludes, "the collection of Ogilby's maps, with or without verbal itineraries, has to be transformed in order to make it what historians of cartography have taken it to be all along, a guide to the traveler."⁷² *Britannia* was a nation-building project, but its capacity for facilitating wayfaring through that nation needed to take numerous other forms.⁷³ Ogilby's use of the Peutinger map, the differences between Ogilby's *Britannia* and previous atlases, the question of *Britannia*'s utility and the subsequent publication history of Ogilby's data all illustrate what P.D.A. Harvey describes as the development of a "mapmindedness," or cartographic literacy, which took place over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁴ What accompanied this working-out period was an explosion of cartographic forms, as mapmakers experimented with the conventions, utility and forms of maps, often sharing what they learned through the mechanisms of public making. The malleability of early modern map forms illustrates William Boelhower's definition of maps "not so much as a representation of space

but as a space of representation,” capable of shaping and being shaped by a public’s perceptions of space.⁷⁵ Once published, *Britannia* was shaped and reshaped by multiple publics of readers, each with their own conceptions of the utility and purpose of maps.

As Ogilby’s maps were republished and ostensibly made more useable for actual travel, the connection with the Peutinger map became forgotten. Instead, the Peutinger map increasingly became an object of interest for a public exploring England’s Roman past. Perhaps tantalized by the Peutinger map’s missing western edge which featured Britain, antiquarians, by consulting other sources, attempted to learn as much as they could about Roman Britain.⁷⁶ Prior to Ogilby’s *Britannia*, William Burton referenced the Peutinger map in his *A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary* (1658) alongside other classical sources in his account of ancient British place names. John Ward’s “An Essay on Peutinger’s Table, so far as it relates to Britain,” contained in John Horsley’s antiquarian study *Britannia Romana* (1732), provided the first comprehensive English antiquarian study of the map. The chapter reproduces the first segment of Ortelius’s engraving, which includes Exeter and Dover on the easternmost tip of England, and Ward argues “that no ancient record, which time has left us of the Roman affairs, appears to me a stronger proof either of the power or policy of that state than this Table.”⁷⁷ Ward argued that to study the map was to come to greater knowledge about ancient Rome, but since the far reaches of the map encompass Britain, the map also had the potential to teach Britain about its own history and political past. Ogilby used the Peutinger map as a cartographic model to surpass and as a political model to flatter a patron. However, the same forces of public making which first made Ogilby aware of the Peutinger map and which made *Britannia* possible contributed to the separation of Ogilby’s project from the Roman itinerary map: each were taken up by different publics with differing ends.

CONCLUSION

The numerous publications of Ogilby’s data following the initial printing of *Britannia* reveal how separate publics reshaped various elements of the atlas as they explored the most effective way to convey regional cartographic information for travelers. Ogilby’s references to the Peutinger map demonstrated how innovations in mapmaking and the shaping of space could emerge from an interest in historical maps, and *Britannia* itself continued to provide material for innovation. The breadth of versions following Ogilby’s *Britannia* illustrates Michael Warner’s definition of publics as depending upon “uptake, citation, and recharacterization” and “taking place not in closely argued essays but in an informal, intertextual, and multigeneric field.”⁷⁸ As maps became more widely accessible in the seventeenth century, their transition from private sources of powerful knowledge to

public commodities and useful objects was an uneasy one, as makers and partakers of maps worked out the precise utility and capacity of cartography for public life. Part of this process involved experimentation in cartographic forms, as the ability of maps to convey spatial information and to shape perceptions of space became an integral part of the cartographic enterprise, and mapmakers like Ogilby looked back to ancient forms as much as they looked forward. As Delano-Smith and Sullivan have shown, *Britannia* cannot be fully understood by the application of twentieth- and twenty-first-century expectations of cartographic utility to its form. Primarily, as Delano-Smith asserts, “whatever early maps were used for, it was not for finding the way in the manner in which most people today use topographical maps or road maps and atlases.”⁷⁹ By making his focus routes and roads rather than counties, Ogilby did provide a new cartographic form, but the immediate use of his map for way-finding was neither its most common nor its most immediately obvious application. This was not solely due to the immobility of the atlas. Instead, old methods of way-finding, such as itineraries, distance charts and oral directions, were not quickly superseded by a single new atlas. In *The Drama of Landscape*, Sullivan cites John Norden’s *England: An Intended Guyde for English Travailers* (1625) as an example of the now-foreign assumptions regarding map usage. The county maps of Norden, who was a mapmaker a generation before Ogilby, were some of the few which depicted roads, yet he viewed roads, because of their crookedness and uncertain terrain, as a hindrance for the true calculation of distance between places: Norden measured miles “as the crow flies, not as the wayfarer walks,” Sullivan writes, and “the distance actually covered by the traveler is understood by Norden as a corruption of his true measurements.”⁸⁰ Ogilby’s *Britannia* appeared in the midst of a transition of maps from objects “of more immediate use to those with property and power” to objects performing a wide variety of functions for a range of classes and occupations of users.⁸¹ This range of users, which I have identified as *Britannia*’s public, contributed to both the creation and the re-creation of the atlas.

Britannia was a transitional text: modeled to reflect back on ancient itinerary forms, it nevertheless anticipated the narrative of the eighteenth-century novel and the twentieth-century AAA Triptik.⁸² Presented as a tool for wayfaring, it took nearly a half century until a pocket-sized version of the strip maps would be published, thus allowing *Britannia* to approach the uses advertised by the frontispiece. Dedicated to and presented for the approval of Charles II, *Britannia* also allowed private citizens to visualize, navigate and possess their own neighborhoods, eventually facilitating the same type of travel which had initially been necessary for its creation. These transitions mirror the widespread changes of the later seventeenth century, transitions that were fuelled by the same forces of public making that brought Welser’s edition of the Peutinger map and Ogilby’s *Britannia* into existence in the first place.

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NOTES

1. *London Gazette*, March 27 & 31, 1673 (nos. 768, 769). Details of the lottery are found in John Ogilby, *Mr. Ogilby's Proposals* (London, 1673). See also Katherine Van Eerde, *John Ogilby and the Taste of his Times* (Kent: Dawson & Sons, 1976), 85–86, 125, 129–130.
2. John Ogilby, *An Advertisement Concerning the English Atlas* (London, 1672). See Van Eerde, *John Ogilby*, 89–90.
3. Cynthia Wall, *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 89; see also Van Eerde, *John Ogilby*, 85–89.
4. John Ogilby, *Britannia* (London, 1675), A1r–v.
5. The Peutinger map, named for its early sixteenth-century owner, the humanist and collector Konrad Peutinger, is currently in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Codex Vindobonensis 324). For a comprehensive account of the map and its history, see Richard Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). The approximate date of 300 CE is Talbert's estimate for the age of the now-lost original map (134–136).
6. On Ortelius's copy of the Peutinger map as the first facsimile map, see J.B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 7; and Peter Meurer, “Ortelius as the Father of Historical Cartography,” in M.P.R. van den Broecke et al., ed., *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas*. (Houten: HES, 1998), 160.
7. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, introduction to *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, and Forms of Knowledge*, ed. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (London: Routledge, 2010), 1.
8. On the attention and participation vital for public making, see Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005), 65–124.
9. On coffeehouses and the public sphere, see Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), and Cowan's chapter in this volume; on the role of questionnaires in the production of *Britannia*, see Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 152; Michael Hunter, “Robert Boyle and the Early Royal Society: A Reciprocal Exchange in the Making of Baconian Science,” *British Journal of the History of Science* 40, no. 1 (March 2007): 1–23.

10. J.B. Harley, introduction to *Britannia*, by John Ogilby, facsimile ed. (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970), v. In an unpublished paper, "The Atlas as Literary Genre: Reading the Inutility of John Ogilby's *Britannia*," Garrett Sullivan argues for restraint in assuming that the "genre" *Britannia* founded was the travel aid rather than a new form of atlas for "armchair travel." I thank him for generously sharing this paper with me, which has helped to refine a number of my own conclusions about Ogilby's *Britannia*. On the question of *Britannia*'s utility, see also Catherine Delano-Smith and R.J.P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 68–72; Delano-Smith, "Milieus of Mobility: Itineraries, Route Maps, and Road Maps," in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 50–54.
11. For example, William Camden, *Britannia*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), 330.
12. Ogilby, *Britannia*, B1r.
13. Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 58.
14. O.A.W. Dilke, "Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires," in *The History of Cartography*, 1:238. The most common assumption is that the original map had a twelfth parchment piece which was lost before the medieval copy was made, but recent work by Talbert has suggested that far more of the map may have existed at one point. For the conventional view, see for example Benet Salway, "Travel, *Itineraria* and *Tabellaria*," in *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. Colin Adams and Ray Laurence (London: Routledge, 2001), 22–66; for Talbert's argument, see *Rome's World*, 86–95.
15. For a range of interpretations, see O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), 115; Pascal Arnaud, "L'origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l'archetype de la Table de Peutinger," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1988): 302–321; Salway, "Travel"; Benet Salway, "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 119–135; Emily Albu, "Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 136–148; Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 58; Talbert, *Rome's World*, 142–163.
16. For the early modern publication history of the Peutinger map, see Talbert, *Rome's World*, 10–30. My description of the circumstances of the 1598 facsimile edition is based on Talbert's account. I am indebted to Marcel van den Broecke for generously answering questions regarding the authorship and publication history of the *Praefatio*, as well as providing me with a facsimile of Ortelius's 1624 edition of the *Parergon*.
17. Quoted in Talbert, *Rome's World*, 10. The confusion between the Peutinger map and the Antonine Itinerary was a common error in the early modern period, leading many to assume that the Peutinger map served mainly a military purpose. Ogilby at one point calls the map "those *Peutingerian Military Charts*" (*Britannia*, A1v).
18. Marcus Welser, "Commentary on the Peutinger Table," trans. Marcel van den Broecke, in *Envisioning the World: The First Printed Maps, 1472–1700*, ed. Henry Wendt (Sonoma: Sonoma County Museum, 2010), 90. For instance, John Leland refers to it as a "charta Militari" in his *Assertio inclytissimi arturii regis britanniae* (London, 1544), 39r, specifically citing Rhenanus. On Rhenanus's role in the transmission of knowledge of the map, see Patrick Gautier-Dalché, "La trasmissione medievale e rinascimentale della *Tabula Peutingeriana*," in *Tabula Peutingeriana: Le Antiche Vie Del Mondo*, ed. Francesco Prontera (Florence, 2003), 43–52. Translated into English as "The

- Medieval and Renaissance Transmission of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*,” by W.L. North. Accessed May 12, 2011. <http://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/mars/Translations/secondary_studies>; Talbert, *Rome’s World*, 13–15.
19. Welser, “Commentary,” 90; *Fragmenta tabulae antiquae, in quis aliquot per Rom. Provincias itinera. Ex Peutingerorum bibliotheca* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1591). For details on these attempts, see Talbert, *Rome’s World*, 10–17. See also Meurer, “Ortelius,” 157; Gautier-Dalché, “La trasmissione.”
 20. R.J.W. Evans, “Rantzau and Welser: Aspects of Later German Humanism,” *History of European Ideas* 5, no. 3 (1984): 257–272, 270.
 21. Pierre Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical*, 2nd ed. (London, 1738), 5:448–449. See also Evans, 260–261.
 22. Robert Mayhew, “Mapping Science’s Imagined Community: Geography as a Republic of Letters, 1660–1800,” *British Journal of the History of Science* 38, no. 1 (March 2005): 73–92, quotations from 76, 74. See also Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, 97–100; Anthony Grafton, “A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters,” *Republic of Letters* 1, no. 1 (May 2009): 1–18.
 23. So reads the biography of Ortelius in the English edition (1608) of the *Theatrum*, quoted in M.P.R. van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps: An Illustrated Guide* (Tuurdijk: HES Publishers BV, 1996), 11.
 24. “Hanc Tabulam, Vir nobilissime, non mittimus ad ted, sed remittimus, aquam scilicet e tuo font. . . . Accipies igitur privatam olim tuam, nunc publicam per te omnium TABVLAM” (translation mine); see van den Broecke, *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 281.
 25. Wilson and Yachnin, “Introduction,” 2.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Welser, “Commentary,” 90.
 28. See for example Gabriel Richardson, *Of the State of Europe* (London, 1627), 27; John Gregory, *Notes and Observations upon Some Passages of Scripture* (London, 1646), 74; Marmaduke Carver, *A Discourse of the Terrestrial Paradise Aiming at a More Probable Discovery of the True Situation of That Happy Place of Our First Parents Habitation* (London, 1666), 107; William Somner, *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent* (London, 1693), 2, 37; William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London, 1694), 249.
 29. Welser, “Commentary,” 90.
 30. Harley, *History of Cartography*, 1:9.
 31. On the Peutinger map’s print history following Ortelius’s death, see Meurer, “Ortelius,” 158; Talbert, *Rome’s World*, 19–25. On Ortelius’s historical cartography, see Walter Goffart, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570–1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 30–38.
 32. Wotton, *Reflections*, 248–249.
 33. The classic account of the debate is Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England* (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1961). See also Jim Bennett, “Projection and the Ubiquitous Virtue of Geometry in the Renaissance,” in *Making Space for Science: Territorial Themes in the Shaping of Knowledge*, eds. Crosbie Smith and Jon Agar (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 27–38.
 34. Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 169–170; Delano-Smith, “Milieus,” 51. See also Alan MacEachern and Gregory Johnson, “The Evolution, Application and Implications of Strip Format Travel Maps,” *The Cartographic Journal* 24 (December 1987): 147–158.
 35. Howard Marchitello, *Narrative and Meaning in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 77.

36. Ogilby, *Britannia*, A1v.
37. See Harley, "Introduction," xvi. On Robert Hooke's involvement with designing the waywiser, see E.G.R. Taylor, "Robert Hooke and the Cartographical Projects of the Late Seventeenth Century (1666–1696)," *The Geographical Journal* 90, no. 6 (December 1937): 529–540, 534. Hooke's diary entry for January 15, 1674 reads: "Contrived pacing saddle with waywiser." On the waywiser, see Jim Bennett, *The Divided Circle: A History of Instruments for Astronomy, Navigation, and Surveying* (Oxford: Phaidon-Christie's, 1987), 89.
38. Quotations from Ogilby, *Britannia* A1v, B1r. See also John Ogilby, "Mr. Ogilby's Design for Carrying on his *Britannia*" (London, c. 1672); see Harley, "Introduction," x–xi.
39. Ogilby, *Britannia*, B1v.
40. Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 52.
41. Ogilby, *Britannia*, A1v; Robert Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650–1850* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 75–82.
42. Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 170–71.
43. John Ward, "An Essay on Peutinger's Table," in John Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (London, 1732), 505–520, 520.
44. See for example John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 71.
45. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (California: University of Berkeley Press, 1988), 121.
46. Marchitello, *Narrative*, 85, 87. While Marchitello discusses the Peutinger map and AAA Triptik maps, he does not discuss Ogilby's road atlas. For an application of his discussion of maps as narratives to *Britannia*, see Cynthia Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 55–57. On narrative and atlases more generally, see Denis Wood, "Pleasure in the Idea: The Atlas as Narrative Form," *Cartographica* 24, no. 1 (1987): 24–45.
47. Ogilby, *Britannia*, 2.
48. De Certeau, *Practice*, 119.
49. Wall, *Prose*, 56.
50. On the early modern frontispiece as representative shorthand for the idea of the nation, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 111–124; Lesley B. Cormack, "Britannia Rules the Waves? Images of Empire in Elizabethan England," in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 45–68; Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 97–111. On architectural features in frontispieces, see Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550–1660* (London: Routledge, 1979), 4–8.
51. For descriptions of these surveying tools, see Bennett, *Divided Circle*, chs. 3, 4.
52. Sullivan, "Atlas."
53. Quoted in Cowan, *Social Life*, 99.
54. Robert Hooke records many meetings with Ogilby at Garraway's in his diary. See, for example, entries from July 8, July 26, October 14, November 8 and November 11, 1673, in *The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672–1680*, ed. Henry Robinson and Walter Adams (London: Taylor & Francis, 1935).
55. Borrowing Steven Shapin's phrase from "The House of Experiment in Seventeenth-Century England," *Isis* 79, no. 3 (1988): 373–404. On Ogilby's

- questionnaire as an early modern example of surveys and sociological documentation, see Stagl, 152. See also Hunter, "Robert Boyle," 21.
56. See Helgerson, *Forms*, 107–147; Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 66–75; Stan Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 49–81.
 57. Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 168–72; Sullivan, "Atlas"; Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 16–68.
 58. Ogilby, *Britannia*, A1v.
 59. Thomas Gardner, "The Preface," *A Pocket-Guide to the English Traveller* (London, 1719), n. pag. John Ogilby, *Iterarium Angliae* (London, 1675).
 60. Ogilby, *Britannia*, B1v, A1v.
 61. See William Morgan, "Morgan's Map of London," 1682. The engraving is reproduced in Van Eerde, *John Ogilby*, 72.
 62. Mayhew, *Enlightenment*, 78; Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 52; Sullivan, "Atlas."
 63. Klein, *Maps*, 86.
 64. See Herbert George Fordham, "John Ogilby (1600–1676), His *Britannia*, and the British Itineraries of the Eighteenth Century," *Library*, 4th ser., 6, no. 2 (Sept 1925): 157–178; Janet R. Wadsworth, "John Ogilby: His Influence on English Itineraries," *Manchester Review* 9 (1961): 109–119.
 65. Van Eerde, *John Ogilby*, 137–139. See also Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 53.
 66. De Certeau, *Practice*, 93.
 67. Morgan continued to publish these tables after Ogilby's death under the title *Ogilby's Pocket-Book of Roads*.
 68. The 1676 edition of Speed's *Theatre*, printed by Thomas Basset and Richard Chiswell (Wing S4886) contains "The Principal Roads and their Branches," pirated from Ogilby's *Britannia*. In his last months of life, Ogilby took any action he could against those "who Have Rob'd my Book"; see Van Eerde, *John Ogilby*, 137–139.
 69. Wing O183A; on route maps, see Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 57–68.
 70. Sullivan, "Atlas."
 71. Gardner, *Pocket-Guide*, n. pag.; John Senex, *Actual Survey of all the Principal Roads of England & Wales* (London, 1719); Emanuel Bowen and John Owen, *Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improved* (London, 1720). See also Delano-Smith, "Milieus," 54.
 72. Sullivan, "Atlas."
 73. Various forms could be used for different purposes by a single individual; for example, in July 1768, Jeremy Bentham wrote to his father, requesting him to send "either of Ogilby's engraved Maps of the roads, and buy me besides the last edition of the small pocket Book of the roads not engraved, which is called Ogilby, with the Map of England in it." *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. Timothy L.S. Sprigge (London: Athlone Press, 1968), 1:129.
 74. P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 15.
 75. William Boelhower, "Inventing America: A Model of Cartographic Semiosis," *Word & Image* 4, no. 2 (April–June 1988): 475–497, 479.
 76. See Philip J. Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 102–104; Talbert outlines how German antiquarians used the Peutinger map for similar information about Germany's ancient past and "national identity" (*Rome's World*, 2).
 77. Ward, "Essay," 520.

78. Warner, *Publics*, 144–145.
79. Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, 142. In “Atlas,” Sullivan argues, “at different times texts have distinct functions, including some that we may no longer recognize. If *Britannia* does not respond to the claims of utility that we want to make of a road atlas, it is still multiply efficacious, its uses merely being located elsewhere than we might expect to find them.”
80. Garret Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 129.
81. Helgerson, *Forms*, 107.
82. Wall, *Prose*, 53–69; Marchitello, *Narrative*, 87; Sullivan, “Atlas.”

7 “Exposed to Everyone’s Eyes”

The Urban Prospect and the Publicity of Representation in Israël Silvestre’s *Profile of the City of Rome*, 1687

Elena Napolitano

In tracing the emergence of the social category of the modern public sphere, Jürgen Habermas characterized the premodern as a historical moment in which publicity was inextricably bound to the representation and endowment of status: the “aura” of authority surrounding persons in power. This “representative publicity,” in Habermas’s terms, was staged in a variety of ways, from rhetorics of speech and codes of behavior, to festive and visual representations of the court.¹ The overall desired effect of these strategies was a totalizing one: the public presence of the prince was both the locus of and matrix for all authority, presented not for, but *before*, the people of his realm. Habermas’s formulation of representative publicity prompts the themes explored in this chapter, which asks if the potential for early modern discourse and public debate can be found even in the most seemingly overt and directed manifestations of sovereign power.

The object that is the focus of this study is a large-scale view of Rome designed and published under the royal purview of Louis XIV by the master engraver to the king, Israël Silvestre. Published in 1687 at Silvestre’s atelier in Paris, the *Profile of the City of Rome* is unprecedented in both its subject matter and size. Produced in four sheets, at over eight feet high and four feet tall, it is one of the largest panoramic views of the period. It is also the first known printed view of Rome from the vantage point of the Pincian Hill (or Pincio), located below the controversial French stronghold in Rome, the royal church and monastery of SS. Trinità dei Monti. In this chapter, I consider how Silvestre’s print utilized the typology of the panoramic cityscape in order to construct a politically motivated image of Rome framed by the territorializing gaze of the French monarch. I argue that one aspect of the *Profile*’s public-making capacity lies in its potential to counter (and thus subvert) the prevailing model of printed representations of the city of the time, which envisioned Rome as a product of papal authorship.²

I begin by situating Silvestre’s work in its historical context by chronicling the long-standing French struggle for control over the Pincian Hill. As an area in Rome upon which multiple and conflicting desires were routinely projected, the undeveloped hillside itself invites an examination into how an early modern public could be construed and understood in spatial

terms, shaped by what Hannah Arendt has described as a pluralistic “web of human relationships.”³ Following a brief discussion of Silvestre as a royal printmaker, I compare the *Profile* to a range of other representations of Rome produced by printmakers in the seventeenth century. Finally, I examine various visual strategies at work in the *Profile*, which aimed to present the Roman cityscape as envisioned through French eyes.

In a city characterized by wide thoroughfares and broad, open squares, the Pincian Hill remains one of Rome’s most impressive public spaces. The staircase that spans the Pincio connects the Piazza di Spagna (home to the Spanish embassy) at its base and the French controlled church and monastery of SS. Trinità dei Monti at its apex, overlooking the downtown core from the city’s northeastern edge. The Spanish Steps, which run up the Pincian Hill, received this misnomer in the eighteenth century due to proximity to Piazza di Spagna. The monument was in fact the result of a joint French and papal commission, introduced in the mid-seventeenth century by the French diplomat Etienne Gueffier and finally completed in 1726 during the reign of Louis XV and the pontificate of Benedict XIII Orsini (1724–1730). During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the French nation in Rome pursued the project as a means by which to concretize French preeminence over the hillside, branding the area as royal territory through the language of monumental architecture.

While the building history of the Spanish Steps is too complex to be adequately summarized here, the development of the project was long and contentious. At times the staircase lacked patronage, plans and even a clear notion of who held jurisdictional rights over the hillside.⁴ The main contenders for its control were the French crown, who claimed the hillside as part of the royal foundation of SS. Trinità dei Monti, and the papacy, who considered the land to be under the jurisdiction of the *maestri delle strade*, the arm of the papal-controlled Roman government that managed public space and urban development. Though less involved with the staircase project, the Spanish crown also held a jurisdictional claim to the area. The Palazzo di Spagna, the residence of the Spanish ambassador, was located at the base of the hillside, and subsequently Spain considered the piazza and the slope as part of its diplomatic precinct. The political register of this struggle cannot be overlooked; the seventeenth century marked the rise of France and the concomitant decline of Spain as the dominant power in Europe, sealed by the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. Moreover, while the papacy had all but lost its influence as a mediator among Christian powers, Rome itself increasingly became the primary stage upon which principals and their representatives displayed their sovereignty.

As I will discuss below, on a micro level the battle for the Pincio articulated many of these tensions, marking the shifting power balances among multiple competing groups. In this way, the debate created the conditions for public making as defined in this volume, serving as a point of contact, contestation and association among disparate interests. Furthermore, visual

manifestations of this debate, including views of and from the hillside, provided both a medium to articulate these claims and a means of their diffusion. As sites of interrogation, works like Silvestre's print may also be considered spaces of publicity. Moreover, the portable and serial qualities of print facilitated its effectiveness in generating public debate about conflicting definitions and redefinitions of the Pincian Hill. Silvestre's *Profile* is thus understood as an object that makes visible and public some of the contestations about the usage and control of this fraught civic space.

The history of French patronage at Trinità dei Monti provides an essential context for the dispute over the Pincian Hill because it associates the staircase project with a more long-standing territorial debate between France and the papacy. The French claim to the Pincio began with the establishment of the church and monastery of SS. Trinità dei Monti in 1494, by the Calabrian founder of the Order of Friars Minor (Minims), St. Francesco di Paola. According to seventeenth-century French accounts, Francesco was able to purchase a small estate on the Pincio in 1494 with the funds from a royal donation by the French King Charles VIII. Completed at the turn of the seventeenth century, the church and monastery were financed along the way by several popes and kings and the wealthy families of Rome. A dedicatory inscription on the church façade of 1570 makes note of the hybridity of this patronage, celebrating not only the munificence of the King of France but also "the charity of the pious."⁵ Despite the multinational roots of its patronage, factionalization between French and non-French Minims at Trinità dei Monti fueled a debate over the status of the church and monastery as a royal institution. In 1661, after nearly a century of intermittent conflict, the issue was definitively decided in favor of the French through the direct intervention of Louis XIV.⁶ The church then became endowed with royal status, its membership limited to subjects of the French crown, and its holdings and property considered the product of a royal donation.

The French proposal for a staircase on the Pincio was introduced in the midst of the conflict over royal privilege. In 1655, the French diplomat Gueffier, who had played a crucial role as advocate for the French faction, left the large sum of twenty thousand *scudi* for the construction of a staircase on the slope. While there is scholarly speculation over Gueffier's motives, considering the tenuous status of the convent's royal privilege, the French diplomat may have desired to concretize French predominance over the hillside, substantiating both a topographical and a juridical claim through the language of monumental architecture. Substantial financial backing raised the stakes of debate over proprietary rights over the hillside. As noted above, the French were not the only group in Rome who projected their interests onto the Pincio; they were in competition with urban strategies deployed by both Spain and the papacy. The idea for a staircase, in fact, was not French in origin but papal. Plans for a staircase can be traced back as early as 1576 with the pontificate of Gregory XIII, who considered it an extension of his street, the Via Gregoriana. The idea reemerged in 1587 with Pope Sixtus V,

who like Gregory envisioned the staircase as an extension of his own thoroughfare, the Strada Felice.⁷ While Gregory's and Sixtus's plans did not come to fruition, they did establish a precedent for papal development of the site and were cited in the papal favor during the final planning stages of the staircase in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the papally controlled *maestri delle strade* continued to manage the hillside, issuing ordinances about its use over the course of the seventeenth century. These directives, which range from the prohibition of grazing livestock to the hanging of laundry, appear in the civic records of Rome during this period, reminding us that the Pincian Hill was also a "public" site in the sense that the city's inhabitants, the Popolo Romano, utilized it on a daily basis.⁸ In sum, because multiple groups considered the Pincian Hill their own, the subject of its ownership was murky and open to negotiation. The debate over proprietary rights to the Pincian hillside that waged over the course of the seventeenth century was a defining aspect of the site's publicity.

A competing claim to the Pincio came from the Spanish, who had rented the Palazzo Mondaleschi at the base of the hillside as an ambassadorial residence since 1633. In 1647 the Spanish ambassador purchased the Palazzo Mondaleschi, and from that point forward the Palazzo di Spagna became the center of Spanish political ritual and the seat of the Spanish faction in Rome. From 1654 to 1656, Philip IV sponsored a series of renovations to the palace, and with its expansion came increased claims to juridical control over the palace's urban environs.⁹ In 1660, the first map of the Spanish quarter in Rome designated several blocks surrounding the Piazza di Spagna and the entirety of the Pincian Hill as within the jurisdiction of the Spanish ambassador's diplomatic quarter.¹⁰ While urban extraterritoriality was a common practice by the mid-seventeenth century, it was also highly controversial as ambassadors often used this immunity as a political bargaining chip. Both Spain and France managed their respective quarters as small principalities in the heart of the city, and each had a history of provoking diplomatic skirmishes in Rome for political gain.¹¹ Maps of Rome produced during the period suggest that the emergence of these conflicting associations with the base of the hillside began to take hold in printed imagery of the city. The *Pianta di Roma Moderna* of 1665 by Giovanni Battista de Rossi is the first known example in which the piazza is designated as the "Forum Hispanicum," formerly referred to as the "Platea Trinitatis." However, Giovanni Battista Falda's "Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma . . .", which refers to this space as the "Piazza sono la SS. Trinità dei Monti," indicates that the nomenclature designated for the piazza was still in flux as late as 1676.¹²

Papal and Spanish presence in the area places France's efforts to control the site in a new light, as one of several ongoing and conflicting claims on urban, public space. The early discussions about the staircase reveal the degree to which the French saw the work as a potent and public demonstration of French preeminence, one that spoke directly to their rivals in

Rome. In 1659, Cardinal Jules Mazarin began to put Gueffier’s legacy to use, and with the aid of his attaché in Rome, Elpidio Benedetti, he began to solicit plans for the stairs. The final selection, based on a design by Bernini, included gates that would have sealed off public access to the stairs and displayed, as its centerpiece, a giant equestrian statue of Louis XIV. The central aim of this staircase was described by Mazarin as serving as “a memory of the Peace.” Mazarin clearly meant this as a clever gibe at both Alexander VII, who had been deliberately excluded from the Peace of the Pyrenees negotiations, and the Spanish Crown, for whom the treaty represented a significant loss.¹³ Not surprisingly, when the plans were submitted for approval to Alexander VII, they were met with silence from the pope. Shortly thereafter, with the death of Mazarin in 1661, the project lost momentum. The project would likely have died then, if not for Gueffier’s legacy and the efforts of the French community in Rome, who pursued a variety of strategies to brand the hillside as French in spite of the absence of a permanent monument.

The Pincio’s geographical prominence was an essential aspect of the site’s value as a means to publicize French power in Rome: its direct proximity to the urban core made it one of the most visible sites in the city. Here I would stress a proposed correlation between visibility and publicity, a central theme in this chapter and a relationship addressed elsewhere in this volume.¹⁴ Without a staircase project or a firm designation over the ownership of the Pincio, the French claim was made through a variety of visual representations that envisioned the site as royal territory. These included the transformation of the hillside itself through ephemeral practices of display. Beginning in 1662 with the celebration of the “Birth of the Dauphin,” the Pincio became the focal point for French festival production in Rome. In all, three major spectacles were launched on the Pincio, designed by prominent artists and financed by illustrious members of the French community in Rome, including the French Academy and the French ambassadors. The works included magnificent ephemeral displays, or *apparati*, which often included temporary architectural structures and pyrotechnical displays. Bilingual (French and Italian) pamphlets were published to commemorate these ephemeral festivities. These publications often included visual representations and textual descriptions that represented and deciphered the allegorical meanings of the various musical and theatrical performances. From 1685 to 1687, seven printed descriptions of the French festivals on the Pincio entered the market, including four engravings depicting the ephemeral displays commissioned for the events.¹⁵ Circulating in both Rome and Paris, these printed pamphlets publicized the contentious French efforts to establish sovereignty over this part of Rome. The pamphlets also provide an important context for subsequent representations of the Pincian Hill, such as Silvestre’s *Profile*.

The aim of the festivals was threefold. First, in the absence of a permanent monument, festivals were used to emblazon the image of French

royal glory onto the Pincian Hill. Second, these public events engaged the participation of a broad viewing public, directing them to experience and thus define the hillside as French. The festivals and the festival pamphlets targeted urban spectators in Rome as well as a broader virtual reading public, coercing them to become both willing participants in and shapers of the spatio-political agenda initiated by the events' makers. Finally, each of the three festivals served to unite the French community in Rome by engaging them in an act of collective patronage, bringing together illustrious members of the community, powerful allies and institutions such as the French Academy.

The celebrations launched on this site brought the manifestation of French nationhood into high relief through the spectacular nature of festive display, and the printed reproductions of these events perpetuated this claim by disseminating it to a broader reading public. Because of the tenuous status of this claim, French festival production cannot be considered the straightforward display of representational publicity in the Habermasian sense of the term. Rather, it sparked a form of publicity that was both persuasive and participatory. For example, France's rival power, Spain, staged its own competing festival on the Piazza di Spagna only two weeks after the French celebration of the "Birth of the Dauphin." This event was clearly orchestrated to make a counterclaim to this contentious site.¹⁶ The thorough examination of these festive works is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is nonetheless important to draw attention to their role in sustaining the French claim to the Pincio, and disseminating this claim through printed representations. Silvestre's depiction of the Pincian Hill would have been considered alongside—and compared with—many other printed works of the mid-seventeenth century that envisioned the Pincio as French.

The Minims also understood the efficacy of the Pincio's visual prominence and capitalized on it. In 1664, a few years after the confirmation of their royal status, the brothers petitioned Louis XIV for permission to hang the royal escutcheon from the façade of SS. Trinità dei Monti. According to the Minims, the aim of the crest was twofold: not only would it cover a portion of the façade's 1570 inscription that referenced non-French patronage (which they deemed offensive), but it would also mark the area as royal territory. This second aim was necessitated by the urban ambitions of the Spanish. As the superior of Trinità dei Monti, Père Dion Noillan, explained in a letter to the royal secretary, the Spanish were attempting to "become the masters of [the Minims's] quarter" by claiming the hillside and the piazza as part of their diplomatic precinct.¹⁷ After the crest was completed in 1668, Noillan remarked that it would be for the honor and glory of the monarch and the entire nation of France. The French ambassador, the Duc de Chaulnes, also noted in a letter to Louis XIV, "The arms are quite a pleasing ornament to the façade, there isn't another church in Rome, by nature of its elevation, more exposed to everyone's eyes."¹⁸ Both statements indicate a keen awareness of the

spatial politics at play on the Pincio and underline the potency of the crest as a symbolic expression of French proprietary rights.

As I have argued thus far, in the seventeenth century, the Pincian Hill was the focus of several competing strategies deployed by diverse public authorities with contesting claims on Rome's urban space. The most assertive of these spatial strategies were deployed by the French in Rome. In many ways, the site became the staging ground for the display of French sovereignty not only because it was considered royal territory by the French, but also, and perhaps more importantly, because it was a zone that was simultaneously accessible and contested. Claimed by the French, Spanish and Roman governments, the Pincio was also utilized on a daily basis by local residents and it was an important urban passage through the city.¹⁹

As Arendt has discussed, contestation and plurality are key factors in the making of public space.²⁰ Following from this claim, I would argue that the Pincian Hill was a space of debate and interrogation, and thus a site that generated much public interest in fraught questions about the ownership of public spaces and the contentious spatial strategies that were employed by various powers to assert their public authority. These complex spatial conflicts allow us to complicate Habermas's notion of representative publicity, in which sovereign power appears uncontested before the people. As my case study demonstrates, when the representative publicity of plural sovereign powers clashed, it created conditions for the emergence of a new kind of public, one whose members had to judge between competing "sovereign" claims. Indeed, the very notion of sovereignty comes into question here. The power skirmish over the Pincio reveals that governing structures are not natural or divinely ordained, but are human-made inventions, or social constructs. In this manner, the various forms of publicity deployed by competing authorities actually publicize the new powers that private people had—to discuss and to debate the rights of various competing sovereignties. This is an important theoretical framework for Silvestre's printed view, which, as I will discuss below, derived its own public-making potential in relation to the broader representational discourses in operation in early modern Rome.

The Profile of the City of Rome, Seen from the Side of Trinità dei Monti (figs. 7.1–7.4) was completed in four panels and includes a legend describing fifty-six monuments in French and Italian and a dedication to the Dauphin, whose coat of arms appears prominently in the center of the legend.²¹ At left two silhouetted figures are depicted on a prominent sweep of hillside in the foreground; one extends his arm in a rhetorical gesture toward the urban scene laid before his (and our) surveying eyes. Rome appears as if in a valley beneath the figures, comprised of a series of tightly packed buildings and streets from the Piazza di Spagna to the northern gate of the Porta del Popolo. Some monuments, like the Palazzo Farnese, appear disproportionately larger in scale than their urban surroundings. Other sites are only recognizable by the shapes of their rooflines or towers along the horizon.



7.3



7.4

Figure 7.1–7.4 Israël Silvestre, *Profile of the City of Rome Seen from the Side of Trinità dei Monti*, Rome, 1687 (fourth edition, 1773). Engraving, 515 x 2600 mm © Roma Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, per gentile concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

Space recedes in orderly planes, from the dark band of vegetation in the foreground, to the cityscape that dominates the horizon line, to the wide swath of sky that contrasts with the urban profile below. On either side of the work, the imposing silhouettes of the Villa Medici and a ruin of an ancient arch enclose the view. This forms a visual frame that trains the eye onto the central urban stage of the cityscape itself.

Little is known of the circumstances surrounding the *Profile*'s publication, though as a testament to its popularity, the work remained in circulation long after Silvestre's death in 1694 and was reprinted in four editions until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Scholarly consideration of the *Profile* has largely focused on the work's formal aspects. Etienne Fauchaux, author of Silvestre's *Catalogue Raisonné*, considered the work little more than a poor example of Silvestre's technique, arguing that this was perhaps because of the engraver's advanced age or its possible execution by his students.²² More recently the print has achieved a more favorable reception, praised by scholars for its highly detailed representation of the city and its monuments and characterized as a precursor to the eighteenth-century genre of the panorama.²³ Notably, the *Profile* is considered the first large-scale cityscape of Rome from the vantage point of the Pincian Hill. While contemporary artists Claude Lorraine, Gaspard Dughet and Gaspar Van Wittel all produced painted views from the Pincio (which likely served as models for Silvestre), the *Profile* was the first view produced in print, and was thus made available to a much wider audience.

Silvestre's own prominent position within the circle of printmakers in seventeenth-century France suggests one aspect of the potential viewing audience and context in which the work would have been received. By the time Silvestre published the *Profile*, he was considered one of the premier engravers and publishers of printed works under Louis XIV, a member of the elite inner circle of artists and intellectuals under the king's employ that glorified the French monarch and the expansion of his realm. As for many of his contemporaries, the study of Rome's contemporary and classical monuments was a crucial part of Silvestre's artistic development. After his initial training under his uncle, the engraver Israël Henriot, Silvestre embarked on three successive journeys to Italy during the periods 1640–1642, 1643–1644 and 1653.²⁴ These trips served as the basis for the production of several series of views of Italian cities during the early part of his career. It was after his return from Rome that Silvestre rose to prominence. By 1661, after inheriting his uncle's atelier and the plates of his mentor, Jacques Callot, Silvestre became the chief publisher of French landscapes in Paris.²⁵ From this point forward, his works primarily depicted French subject matter, a shift credited to his royal affiliation in the early 1660s. According to the notations from the royal ledgers of 1664, Silvestre's first official commission was to create views of all royal buildings and public spectacles. The following year, Louis XIV's Minister of Finances, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, dispatched Silvestre to illustrate the cities captured and

annexed by the French army in the Lorraine and Champagne regions. Over the following decade, Silvestre became the Maître à dessiner des pages de la Grande Écurie in 1667, and received the title of Academician at the prestigious Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1670; in 1673 he was named the drawing instructor to the Dauphin of France.²⁶

The *Profile* lacks a clear precedent in Silvestre’s work, but from a formal perspective, it closely recalls a 1665 panoramic view of Rome composed by Giovanni Temini and engraved by Hendrick Van Cleef.²⁷ Nearly seven feet (220 centimeters) in length, Temini’s *Roma* is nearly as large as the *Profile*. It was completed in five separate panels and is, to my knowledge, the only view of Rome predating Silvestre’s that is of similar size and format. Viewing from left to right, St. Peter’s appears in the far left panel and is the most prominent monument in the work. In place of a legend, nineteen small scenes (*vedute*) of the major urban and architectural projects of Alexander VII by the engraver and cartographer Gian Battista Falda span the lower portion of the view, with the church and piazza of St. Peter’s depicted once more as the central scene. Temini’s grand scale profile, however, fell out of circulation sometime around 1687, after the death of its publisher, Stefano Scolari, suggesting that the *Profile*’s publication may have also represented an attempt to fill a new gap in the print market.²⁸

Temini’s engraving belonged to a genre of urban views of Rome promoting the city as both a religious and artistic capital during the period of the Counter-Reformation. From the close of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, Rome’s urban fabric underwent a series of dramatic transformations. Papal attention increasingly turned toward revitalizing the city, reinforcing its role as a material example of the legitimacy of the church and the divine right of the Holy See. At the same time, an emerging market for views of Rome began to diffuse an image of a renewed city throughout Europe. The surge in representations of Rome that celebrated the city as a product of papal authorship reached its apex with the papacy of Alexander VII Chigi (1655–1668). Alexander’s urban enterprise was comprehensive: to imprint the city with the radiant mark of a renewed and glorified Catholic state. The pontiff recognized the key roles of visibility and legibility of city space as an instrument of papal control, a strategy he pursued through the effort to widen and straighten major streets and squares throughout the city.²⁹ By laying out a series of prospects and termini Alexander envisioned the city as a performative entity capable of inscribing meaning into the very act of walking the streets. Moreover, it has been argued that these visual showpieces, or *teatri*, had a specific public in mind: the “illustrious foreigner” who was to be impressed by both the magnificence of the city and its primary author: the Holy See.³⁰ In its actualization, however, Alexander’s vision was shaped by compromise and negotiation among a network of agents competing for urban prominence.³¹ Nonetheless, the grand vision of the pope’s scheme was realized through printed imagery: six new maps of Rome were produced in the 1660s (all dedicated to a member of the

papal family), as well as two new series of urban views that depicted the pope's urban projects.³²

The maps and views of Rome produced during Alexander's pontificate provided a new image of the city through print, one that had not been updated in maps since the late 1630s.³³ In some cases, these views were the only register of the completed vision of Alexander's urban planning. Bernini's planned "third arm" for the entrance to the Piazza at St. Peter's, for example, appears in most maps of Rome produced during this period, even though it was never actualized. The overall impression of these "composite" images is one of the legibility and grandeur of the Roman urban fabric achieved through unobstructed visibility of its streets and monuments. These images fostered a cohesive and mediated conception of Alexander's urban scheme by depicting Rome as a unified product of papal initiative, both in its sum and its parts.³⁴

Several of these cartographic images of Rome continued to be reproduced after Alexander's death, influencing printed visual imagery of Rome well into the eighteenth century. The *Profile* contains a significant omission, however, that distinguishes it from the work of Temini and his contemporaries: it depicts the city as it had appeared in 1642, devoid of any of Alexander's urban projects.³⁵ The decision to produce an outdated view, especially one that would have required considerable expense and time, seems quite deliberate. While the inventory of Silvestre's estate does not specify his possession of Temini's profile, the formal similarities between the two works and Silvestre's own prominence as a publisher in the European print market suggest that it was likely that he was aware of the view. Silvestre's inventory also reveals that the engraver owned a set of Falda's views as well as a copy of the Falda map of Rome; it is very likely that he was aware of the range of urban updates that had occurred since his own visits to Rome, especially those pursued by the Chigi pope.³⁶ Finally, while it is possible that Silvestre may have used preliminary drawings from an earlier stage of his career, according to Faucheux, the final work is stylistically distinct from his earlier work, suggesting that he cut the plates around the time of its publication.³⁷

As I have maintained thus far, Silvestre's presentation of the city is anachronistic because it lacks several prominent changes to Rome's urban fabric from the 1660s through the 1680s, revisions that were present, even highlighted, in contemporary views and maps. This is suggestive for a number of reasons, but particularly for the ways in which such a counterimage could create a virtual space for public discourse about the city through visual comparison. Crucially, at the time Silvestre's view was produced, the predominant visual presentation of space in Rome was as *papal* space. Considering the saturation of the print market by Alexandrian images of Rome, the fact that Silvestre's version of the Roman urban landscape was outdated would have been strikingly obvious to the contemporary viewer. The *Profile*'s bilingual legend also suggests that the work was designed to

appeal to a wide audience of both French and Italian collectors. Furthermore, because of its immense size and level of detail, the *Profile* lends itself to multiple types of readings, suggesting an appeal to a variety of interests. Viewed from a relative distance, the image of the city appears in its entirety, starkly contrasted by the surrounding rolling countryside and distant farmland. The effect is pastoral, in spite of the crowded urban fabric that dominates the central panels. Upon closer inspection, certain monuments appear more prominently within the cityscape. SS. Trinità dei Monti and the Pinian hillside, for example, dominate the left panel of the view. There is also an emphasis on variety. Of the fifty-six monuments named in the legend, over half are churches; the rest include noble family palaces (nine), towers (three), columns and obelisks (four) and fountains (two). Silvestre also includes multiple sites associated with foreign nations in Rome, such as the palaces of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors. Several of the churches and institutions of major religious orders in Rome and the major monuments associated with the papacy are also depicted. Overall, the selections suggest a general (albeit dated) mapping of the major institutions and social fabric of early modern Rome.

As a relatively inexpensive, reproducible and mobile medium, print particularly lends itself to an exploration of its “public-making” potential, an endeavor that a variety of scholars in this volume and elsewhere have explored in meaningful ways.³⁸ The act of comparison formed a key part of early modern viewing and reading practices associated with prints. Produced in multiples, etchings and engravings were portable: they could appear in a variety of settings, collections and geographic locations and could be bought by numerous owners. A print’s appearance, therefore, was subject to manifold juxtapositions with other works in a collection or cabinet, prompting a variety of visual analogies and comparisons that were an essential part of early modern interpretative strategies associated with printed visual imagery.³⁹ In other words, a print’s reproducibility did not detract from the authenticity or valence of the work, but opened up possibilities for or even ascribed fluidity to its potential meanings.⁴⁰ Silvestre’s late career foray into the primarily papally sponsored world of large-scale Roman cityscapes suggests that a comparison among existing views of Rome would not only have been readily made, but that this comparison was part of its intended effect. What, then, were the motivational factors that prompted this comparative view, and more significantly, what was such a view’s public-making potential in relation to the broader representational discourse of early modern Rome?

The *Profile* fit into a larger context of alternative imaginings of Rome, both in representation and on the level of the street itself. For the French, this interest was long-standing and complex. Both the identification of the French king as the “Most Christian” of sovereigns and of the French state as the heir to the Roman Empire had fostered a sustained interest in representations of Rome and its monuments.⁴¹ In the mid-seventeenth century, political tensions

that arose from French diplomacy in Rome added an equally charged investment in the development and defense of France's urban claims within the city itself. The significance of this second factor cannot be overlooked. The second half of the seventeenth century was marked by rising tensions between Louis XIV and the papacy, with the urban fabric of Rome often mobilized as a tool for political leverage on both sides.⁴² In addition to the ongoing battle for the Pincio, one of the chief sources of dispute was the controversial extension of diplomatic immunity to the urban precinct surrounding an ambassador's palace—the Palazzo Farnese, for the French—a practice known as the *franchise du quartier*.⁴³ While other foreign powers exercised the *franchise* (such as the Spanish at Piazza di Spagna), none pursued it as forcefully as the French. Most significantly, the French worked to optically define their quarter. Beginning in the 1660s, the boundaries of the quarter were marked by the placement of the royal coat of arms.⁴⁴ Like the struggle for the Pincio, this marking of diplomatic boundaries reinforces the idea that space could be defined as a series of practices, in this case the collapse between the visual and the jurisdictional.

The hostilities between France and the Holy See over the issue of extra-territoriality reached their climax in 1687.⁴⁵ On May 12 of that year, Pope Innocent XI published a bull dissolving the rights of all foreign quarters in Rome, threatening excommunication of those in violation of this decree.⁴⁶ The new French ambassador, the Marquis de Lavardin, arrived in Rome in November and attempted to take possession of the quarter by militarizing the area with over eight hundred French soldiers. Innocent responded by immediately excommunicating Lavardin, and when the ambassador received communion at Christmas Mass at the French church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, the pope retaliated by putting the French national church itself under interdict.⁴⁷ This was the concluding act of Franco-papal diplomatic affairs in 1687: the year Silvestre's *Profile* was published.

Thus far, I have explored the ways in which Silvestre's *Profile* diverged from predominant visual representations of Rome, and have offered some preliminary explanations for the political motivation behind such a rereading of space. In this final section, I explore some of the representational strategies in the work, which I argue aimed to present Rome as a counter-space, framed not as a product of papal vision but rather of the sovereign eye of the king. By presenting this alternative view of Rome, the *Profile* put into question the very concept of papal authorship of the city, pointing to the use of print as a strategic tool by which to construct (and deconstruct) early modern conceptions of space. One way this was achieved was through visual comparison with other views of Rome. Another method was the use of visual tropes that already had a specific coded meaning in the visual economy of Louis XIV's France. Like many of Silvestre's previous views of French territories, the *Profile* belonged to the genre of the topographical view. Similar in principle to Alexander VII's cityscapes, the topographical view in France was essentially propagandistic. It gave representational form

to the power of the monarch by articulating a direct correlation between the sovereign and the territorial bounds of his domain.⁴⁸ Silvestre’s views of the king’s conquests often appeared in historical almanacs alongside maps of the same areas, suggesting they were on equal footing with maps as representations of new territories. Produced in Paris, these views literally brought the frontiers back to the center, strengthening its status as a capitol city while promoting a territorially driven conception of nationhood.

Topographical views often included an urban profile of the annexed territory, integrating the forms of the cityscape and the landscape into a historical narrative that celebrated both the omnipotence of the sovereign and the consolidation and expansion of the nation’s borders. As a distinct form, the urban profile was derived from the cartographic typology of the navigational profile (defined by its horizon line), which depicted the city’s “face” from a distant view.⁴⁹ In the seventeenth century, “horizon” had a topographical meaning: it designated the part of the landscape at the limits of one’s vision. Art historian Louis Marin has traced the lexical history of this term in relation to a second limiting term, the “frontier,” which denoted a boundary between states. According to Marin, the frontier was also a recognizable trope in Louis XIV’s royal iconography used to connote the resolution of conflict and the restoration of peace between opposing forces.⁵⁰ The crossing of a frontier could also be signaled by its representation within the field of view of the royal gaze. The limitlessness of royal vision was a central conceit in the representational strategies of Louis XIV, one that served to mark the collapse between omnipotence and surveillance, as well as in the foundational correlation between the royal body and the territorial body politic. For example, Charles Le Brun and Adam Franz van der Meulen’s commemorative tapestries and paintings of the king’s military engagements in Europe all utilized the urban profile view to connote the expansion of the king’s frontiers, often combining it with a portrait of Louis XIV surveying the distant city.⁵¹ In this way, these works effectively transformed the meaning of the horizon from that of a geopolitical borderline to that of the ideal of an expanding frontier resulting from the king’s visual and actual conquests.

The *Profile* utilizes the typology of the topographical view in order to make a direct comparison between two opposing forces in Rome: France and the papacy. True to the work’s name, the dominant organizational device in the *Profile* is the horizon line, bisecting the view at its midpoint. The bell towers of Trinità dei Monti and the dome and bell tower of St. Peter’s are the highest points along the horizon, the latter appearing taller only by the length of the cross atop its dome. This punctuation of the horizon line creates a visual juxtaposition between the two churches, each standing in for their respective powers. As noted above, the *Profile* depicts Rome devoid of Alexander VII’s urban interventions. The most obvious sign of construction is, in fact, Bernini’s lone bell tower of St. Peter’s shown in the process of being dismantled in 1642. Silvestre had documented the

construction and subsequent disassembly of the infamous monument in a series of engravings and drawings over the 1640s, suggesting that his decision to depict this particular moment was deliberate and symbolic. The structural instability of Bernini's bell towers was a highly embarrassing episode in Rome's architectural history, and Silvestre's visual emphasis on this failed project would have likely been read as a slight toward the papacy. Taking into account both the symbolic register of the failed project and the Franco-papal struggle for control over Trinità dei Monti, the visual comparison between the two towers is suggestive: one serving as a mark of triumph, the other of defeat. The inclusion also reminds us that the Pincio itself was a site of conflict, upon which multiple understandings of space were conceived and inscribed.

Silvestre's emphasis on Trinità dei Monti also offers the viewer a directed narrative by which to decipher the political undercurrent of the work, one that points back to the consideration of the Pincio as French territory. As noted above, it is because of the hillside's commanding view that Trinità dei Monti was considered a tactical and potent sign of French nationhood in Rome. French control over the site was even described in martial terms. In a letter to Mazarin, Elpidio Benedetti urged the minister to consider the purchase of a house located adjacent to Trinità dei Monti for the new ambassadorial residence. According to Benedetti, the proximity of the two buildings would function "*come una cittadella*" for the French in Rome, made even more secure by its location close to the city walls.⁵² It is fitting, therefore, that the term "citadel" reappeared again in 1687 (the year of the *Profile*) as an epithet condemning the exercise of diplomatic immunity by the French in Rome. In these diatribes, papal supporters accused the French of usurping authority in "the Pope's own metropolis," treating the extraterritorial quarter as a "citadel" and Rome "as a place of conquest."⁵³ Though Louis XIV never besieged Rome, his urban strategy in the city was remarkably militaristic in tone. And because the crown considered parts of Rome its territory, these locations were the farthest frontiers of the French state. In depicting Rome from the vantage point of a controversial French stronghold, that is, the Pincian Hill, Silvestre underscored the visual nature of this claim.

As I noted earlier, Silvestre's view of Rome was outdated, depicting the city as it would have appeared before Alexander VII's pontificate. The only notable exception is the inclusion of the royal crest of 1668 on the façade of Trinità dei Monti. In the *Profile* the relationship between the Dauphin's coat of arms (depicted in the legend) and the crest on the façade of the Trinità collapses viewer and viewed into a closed system of royal visual dominion. Standing in for the work's dedicatee, the larger crest implies the eyes of the Dauphin, while the façade of Trinità dei Monti recalls the scopic value of the Pincian Hill as a visible projection of French territory onto the Roman landscape. The link between crests also closes

the gap between two worlds: the represented (in the form of the profile) and the experienced (what is seen in the built environment). In its framing of an extraspatial and totalizing view, Silvestre's *Profile* presents Rome as if from the omniscient perspective of royal vision. By substituting a papal view of Rome for a royal one, the *Profile* reveals the degree to which urban space could be subject to multiple re-presentations. Tenuous and controversial, France's urban claims in Rome found a definitive expression in the printed city view.

This chapter has analyzed the Pincian Hill in Rome as a site of early modern publicity, focusing on the representational strategies that registered conflicting claims of ownership and authority over this space. By emphasizing the visual nature of French diplomacy and the political tactics that it underscored, the *Profile* constructed a persuasive image of French territoriality, presenting Rome as the farthest frontier of the French realm. Silvestre's engraving constructed a specific narrative vision of this space, visually conveying the very image of totality that defined the royal gaze. This new way of imagining the city challenged a preexisting totalizing conception of Rome as a product of papal authorship, as depicted by Falda, Temini and others. Whether the aims were papal or monarchical, the medium of print served as an efficacious vehicle to transmit a certain vision of the city. In their capacity to be reproduced and disseminated, printed works fostered what Michael Warner has described as a "textual public," generating a discourse about the city among disparate and interested viewers through the very diffusion of printed representations.⁵⁴

In tracing the seventeenth-century etymology of the term "frontier," Marin characterized the tenuousness that defined it. The limit, he asserts, was the semiotic "no-man's-land" of the frontier, an uncertain place belonging to "neither one nor the other."⁵⁵ Similarly, Michel de Certeau has described the frontier as a type of void, an "in between space." De Certeau importantly emphasizes that the impulse to cross this in-between space and to occupy its emptiness is an essential aspect informing the frontier's functions.⁵⁶ As an unbuilt space in Rome, the Pincian Hill was in many ways a frontier, onto which conflicting groups projected their desires to transform, to claim and to occupy. The battle between France and the papacy to define a sovereign image of Rome, however, exposes another type of "space between" that arises from incommensurate presentations of a single totalizing vision. This complicates Habermas's characterization of a premodern publicity forged solely through the top-down and unidirectional representation of power from sovereign to subject. The conflicting representations of an authored Rome reveal that such an entity can never truly be defined or appropriated by a single agent. The plurality of these representations calls into question the very practice of making a claim to sovereignty, and thus enables a new public discourse about the visual and spatial strategies by which authority emerges.

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NOTES

1. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 7.
2. Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle, foreword by Tom Conley (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), 57, 64–65.
3. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed., introduction by Margaret Canovan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8–9, 175–247.
4. In the early 1720s, a compromise was reached between the King of France Louis XV and Pope Innocent XIII and the staircase was brought to completion by the architect Francesco de Sanctis during the pontificate of Benedict XIII. Cesare D’Onofrio’s account of the building history of the Spanish Steps is an authoritative synthesis of previous scholarship on the Spanish Steps. Cesare D’Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma* (Roma: Stabilimento A. Staderini, 1974). An excellent discussion of the political history informing the project can be found in Tod Marder, “The Decision to Build the Spanish Steps: From Project to Monument,” in *Projects and Monuments in the Period of the Roman Baroque*, ed. Helmut Hager and Susan Munshower (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), 1:83–95.
5. D’Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma*, 222–223.
6. Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire du couvent royal de la Trinité du Mont Pincio à Rome* (Paris: Picard, 1933), 143.
7. Yves Bruley and Alain Rauwel, “Dans la Rome des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles,” in *Trinitè-des-Monts redécouverte, arte, foi, et culture* (Rome: De Luca, 2002), 56.
8. Marder, “The Decision to Build the Spanish Steps,” 83–95.
9. On Spanish diplomacy and nation building in Rome, see Alessandra Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell’Ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede* (Rome: De Luca, 2001) and Thomas Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).
10. Alessandra Anselmi, “Il Quartiere del Ambasciata di Spagna a Roma,” in *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri XIV–XVIII secolo*, ed. D. Calabi and P. Lanaro (Rome: Bari, 1998), 206–221.

11. For a discussion of diplomatic skirmishes in Rome, see Laurie Nussdorfer, “The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997–1999), 161–185.
12. Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1962), 3:350–356, 357–363.
13. “This will be a work in memory of the Peace and I think (if I don’t deceive myself) it will meet with the pleasure of Our Lord (Alexander VII) not only for the above reason, but because the genius of His Holiness tending toward the embellishment of this city and being difficult to build something there that is of great ornament, His Holiness ought to be happy that this is done in His pontificate.” Letter from Mazarin to Benedetti, January 6, 1660, trans. by Marder in “The Decision to Build the Spanish Steps,” 85.
14. See for example Angela Vanhaelen’s discussion of Dutch paintings of church interiors in this volume.
15. Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, ed., *La festa barocca* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1997), 406–412. Portions of these pamphlets are reprinted in Fagiolo dell’Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, and in Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco and Silvia Carandini, *L’Effimero Barocco, Strutture della festa nella Roma del ‘600* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977–1978), 1:185–193. For a complete bibliography see Fagiolo dell’Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, 412.
16. Fagiolo dell’Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, 414–419; Renato Diez, *Il Trionfo della parola. Studio sulle relazioni di feste nella Roma barocca 1623–1667* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986), 46–47.
17. Letter of Dion de Noillan to Hugues de Lionne, May 26, 1664. France, Archives des Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (AMAE), “Rome,” vol. 159, ff. 161r–162r.
18. Letter of Dion de Noillan to Hugues de Lionne, August 26, 1670, published in Anatole de Montaiglon, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l’Academie de France à Rome* (Paris, 1889), 6:376, and in D’Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma*, 310.
19. For a summary of the competing claims over land usage, ownership and management over the hillside, see Marder, “The Decision to Build the Spanish Steps,” 83–95.
20. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 8–9, 175–247.
21. Entitled in French, *Profil de la ville de Rome, veüe de côté de la Trinité du Monts* and in Italian, *Profilo della Città di Roma dalla parte dell Trinità dei Monte*. The work exists in four editions. For a discussion of the publication history of the work, see Elena C. Napolitano, “Prospects of Statecraft: Diplomacy, Territoriality, and the Vision of French Nationhood in Rome, 1660–1700” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012), 252–276. A copy of the first edition, published by Silvestre in 1687 (located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France), and a copy of the third edition, published by Carlo Losi in 1773 (located at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome), were studied in preparation for this chapter. The only changes from the original in the 1773 edition are a rededication to Benedict XIV and the substitution of the Dauphin’s arms for those of the pope. For a reproduction of the work, see Mario Gori Sassoli, ed., *Roma Veduta: Disegni e stampe panoramiche della città dal XV al XIX secolo* (Rome: Artemide Edizioni, 2001), 171–172; and Cesare de Seta, ed., *Imago urbis romae: l’immagine di Roma in età moderna*, exh. cat. (Rome: Electa, 2005), 130–131. A reproduction of the original French edition also appears in Cesare Nissirio, ed., *Incisioni romane di Israel Silvestre* (Rome: Centre culturel français de Rome, 1979). The provenance of the *Profile* is published in L.E. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l’oeuvre d’Israel Silvestre* (Paris: Veuve Jules Renouard 1969), 80.

22. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné*, 80.
23. *Roma Veduta*, 171–172.
24. On Silvestre's Italian works, see Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Silvestre Paysagiste," in *Paris et Rome: vus par Israël Silvestre*, ed. Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris (Paris: Mairies Annexes des Xe et Ier Arrondissements, 1981), 4–8; and Cesare Nissirio, "Silvestre a Rome," in *Paris et Rome*, 8–9.
25. Silvestre, *Renseignements sur quelques peintres*, 8–20.
26. On the development of Silvestre's style and the artist's biography, see Édouard de Silvestre, *Renseignements sur quelques peintres et graveurs des XVII et XVIII siècles, Israël Silvestre et ses descendants* (Paris, 1869); and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti, ed., *Scelta de Vedute di Roma* (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1984).
27. *Roma Veduta*, 173–174; Alessandra Anselmi, "Il Quartiere del Ambasciata di Spagna a Roma," in *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri XIV–XVIII secolo*, ed. D. Calabi and P. Lanaro (Rome: Bari, 1998), 206–221.
28. Mario Gori Sassoli, "Giovanni Temini," in *Roma Veduta*, 172–173.
29. Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). A more recent source on Lieven Cruyl is Barbara Jatta, *Lievin Cruyl e la sua opera grafica. Un artista fiammingo nell'Italia del Seicento* (Brussels and Rome: Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1992). On the De Rossi family, see Francesca Consagra, "De Rossi and Falda: A Successful Collaboration in the Print Industry of Seventeenth-Century Rome," in *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, ed. Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 187–203.
30. Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII*, 131–148.
31. For a discussion of the roles of compromise and alliances in the urban planning of Alexander VII, see Dorothy Metzger Habel, "Alexander VII and the Private Builder: Two Case Studies in Development of Via del Corso in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 3 (1990): 293–309.
32. At least six major map projects were commissioned during Alexander's pontificate. For a discussion of seventeenth-century map production, see Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*; and Jörg Garms and Cinzia Ammannato, *Vedute di Roma: dal Medioevo all'Ottocento: atlante iconografico, topografico, architettonico*, 2 vols. (Naples: Electa, 1995). Lievin Cruyl worked in Rome from 1664 to 1674, when he was commissioned by Alexander VII to produce a series of about thirty views of Rome. Joseph Connors and Louise Rice, *Specchio di Roma Barocca* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1991), 162.
33. Before Alexander VII's pontificate, the most up-to-date map of the period was Giuseppe di Rossi's *Roma* of 1637. *Roma* was reissued in 1650. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 1:211–212, 3:333.
34. Giulio Carlo Argan, "The Monument," in *The Baroque Age* (New York: Rizzoli, 1964), 41–44.
35. For example, while the fountain of Acqua Paola (1609–1612) is featured, the Acqua Acetosa (1661) is not. The church of S. Carlo al Corso is missing its dome (1668–1669), and the Piazza del Popolo its gateway (1655) and twin churches (1662–1679).
36. The manuscript of Silvestre's inventory compiled after the engraver's death in 1691 was consulted at the Archives Nationales, Paris, France, in preparation for this chapter. AN, 383 AP/1 Dossier 4.
37. Faucheux, *Catalogue raisonné*, 80.
38. See, for example, Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) and, in

the present volume, Meredith Donaldson Clark, "'Now through You Made Public for Everyone': Narrative, Mobility and Nation-Building in the Peutinger Map and John Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675)." On the role of collecting and diffusion of printed works in this endeavor, see especially Peter Parshall, "Prints as Objects of Consumption in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998): 19–36; William M. Ivins Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication* (London: Routledge, 1953); and E.L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

39. William Macgregor, "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective," *Art History* 22, no. 3 (September 1999): 389–420.
40. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (London, 1973), 219–253. For a critique of Benjamin's discussion of the printed work's loss of "aura," see for example David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).
41. For a discussion of the artistic and diplomatic exchange between France and Rome, see the excellent study by Dietrich Erben, *Paris und Rom: die staatlich gelenkten Kunstbeziehungen unter Ludwig XIV* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004).
42. Among the chief causes of political disagreement between Louis XIV and the papacy were the pursuit of Gallicanism and the ongoing Jansenist controversy in France. For a broad discussion of these issues, see for example Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols. (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1936–1967).
43. Bruno Neveu, "'Regia Fortuna': le Palais Farnèse durant le seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle," in *Le Palais Farnèse* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 1:475–507.
44. Neveu, "Regia Fortuna," 482–483.
45. Ferdinando de Bojani, "L'affaire du quartier à Rome à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 22 (1908): 350–378.
46. Similar edicts were published on November 26, 1677, and February 22, 1680. See Archivio di Stato, Roma, Bandi b. 38 1687–1689.
47. "Refutation d'un Libelle italien en forme de reponse a la protestation du Marquis de Lavardin Ambassadeur extraordinaire de France, a Rome An. 1688," Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb Lat 5647, ff. 75r–90v; and "Qui Maledixerit Patri Suo," 1688, BAV Barb Lat 5647 98r–112v, f. 906r.
48. "The real presence of the king is in the currency of his portrait (the sacramental body) as an operator of exchange between image and name, narrative and law, reality and norm." Marin, *Portrait of the King*, 14.
49. Denis Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective, and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10, no. 1 (1985): 45–62. See also Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (March 1994): 105–128.
50. Louis Marin "Frontiers of Utopia," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 397–420, 406–408. As Marin notes, Charles Le Brun's scenographical staging of the celebration of the Peace of the Pyrenees, for example, was on the Île des Faisans, the island that straddled the border between France and Spain, thus eliding geographical location with the conceptions of neutrality, peace and concord.
51. These works were also engraved by Sébastien Le Clerc from 1683 to 1694.

52. “Il s. card. Antonio sarebbe di parere che là su alto ove sono le case del morto Toscanelli si accomodasse con 40 o 50 altri mila *scudi* una nobile habitatione per un imbasciatore che con la vicinanza di quel convento e per il sito verrebbe ad havere in Rome come una cittadella che rimanerebbe sua et haverebbe in vicinanza le mure della città. Il pensiero merita essa considerato e veramente starebbe bene alla Francia haver qui un palazzo regio.” Quoted in Laurain-Portemer, “Mazarin, Benedetti et l’escalier,” 291, n. 60, and in D’Onofrio, *Scalinate di Roma*, 280.
53. “Ecrit Italien en forme de Response a la Protestation du Marquis de Lavardin Ambassadeur extraordinaire de France à Rome,” BAV, Barb. Lat. 5647, ff. 91r–112r, 92r.
54. Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002).
55. Marin, “Frontiers of Utopia,” 407–410.
56. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 122–129.

8 Sensing Space and Making Publics

Marlene Eberhart

INTRODUCTION

Venice. The name alone evokes a sensuous environment and the promise of unique sensory encounters for visitors and armchair travelers alike. Sixteenth-century Venice was a large, bustling, noisy and often malodorous city; from the “bells which are heard all over the city and also many miles away,”¹ to the smells—“filthy, foggy, ill-savouring and unwholesome airs”²—the sensuous environment of Venice took increasing hold of the European imagination. It was a center of international trade, printing and the arts, including the performing arts. Discussions of the “things of the world” went on in public, private and the in-between space of the street. It was a city-state with carefully defined social strata, with a keen awareness that foreigners made up a large part of the population. Who could see, hear and touch, as well as how one could be seen, heard and touched, for example, were under constant negotiation as the state tried to regulate its sensory environment to bring it into line with the image it projected of serene order and stability. Venice is an excellent place to start investigating the confluence of sensory attitudes and practices, urban space and the making of publics.

Environmental ambiance is important to understanding daily life or even how spaces were used, for example where sounds or smells might encourage or disrupt social gatherings. Equally important is the way people understood the sensory construction of their social spaces and interactions. The sensuousness of spaces and social transaction had a strong bearing on the openness of Venetians to associating with strangers, their claiming of urban spaces for their own use and even the formulation of their ideas about authentic knowledge and rational discourse.

Venice was frequently praised as a locus of civic calm where the sensual pleasures the city offered did not upset social order. The Serenissima carefully cultivated an image of longevity, stability and purity—a careful control of its sensory body. For example, visual representations of official processions in St. Mark’s Square generally show us a sanitized space that would in reality have been filled with noises, smells and people of all classes

moving about in more or less chaotic fashion.³ It is these traces of quotidian life, however, that help us understand how people physically encountered each other in the streets, marketplaces, shops and places of refined conversation, as residents negotiated their passage through urban spaces. While harder to find, resonances of those encounters are there in diaries, letters, works of fiction, printed imagery and the official records legislating both public and private behavior. And sometimes, it is what is *not* there, the erasure of touch, smell, taste and even sound, that prompts us to ask what their absence suggests about the image and the lived reality of the city. A number of scholars are now questioning the archival material available to us for specific information about people's perceptions of speech acts, smells or sounds, and their studies are yielding some exciting possibilities for connecting our understanding of political and social history with the emerging scholarship on both publics and the early modern senses.

Making publics is a form of social action and, as Hannah Arendt has argued, "action . . . no matter what its specific content, always establishes relationships and therefore has an inherent tendency to force open all limitations and cut across all boundaries."⁴ These relationships involve spatial practices and an in-betweenness that are, at their foundation, sensory acts: they are spaces of contact⁵ between bodies, material things and more ephemeral presences; they are spaces of plurality where the actions of all or any have the potential to inform or modify the quality of association; and they are sensory spaces, where traditional attitudes, practices and prejudices meet and shape a dynamic social environment.

Many of the activities of early modern public formation that have so far been studied—music making, salon conversation and partaking of the theater, to name a few—engage bodies with each other as well as with their objects of interest in spatial and sensorial relationships. The circulation at the core of public making is also about the circulation of the space-making, sensing body and its interactions with other bodies in built and natural environments. I argue that in order to understand the processes of early modern public making, we require a model that integrates the role of sensation. This model does not replace the circulation of rational discourse as a key characteristic of publics, but rather acknowledges the necessary role of sensing in the formation of judgment and intellect in accordance with early modern theory and practice. On this account, making publics is governed by the same sensory dynamics as other social relations and the acquisition of knowledge.

What if we reconsidered some early hypotheses about what makes publics in early modernity in terms of corporeality and the senses? How then might we define matters of concern and describe how people are drawn to publics? How might we critique the Habermasian construction of the

public sphere? Could we describe a role for the senses as bridging publics and other aspects of early modern life, like the urban spaces in which publics emerged? Indeed, could we describe the senses as playing a foundational role in the formation of publics?

One of the assumptions we would have to nuance is that of the emphasis on discourse that underpins Habermasian theory.⁶ Before anything becomes an object of discourse, it must pique our interest, compel us to pursue it, talk about it, draw others into conversation about it. The moment of notice is bound up with the senses. Similarly, before anyone becomes a regular part of our social milieu, we have to have a meaningful encounter with that person, whether in the street or a square, at a performance or apothecary shop. Here, too, the sensory body is an important actor; individuals assess each other by taking in each other's presentation of self. Part of our work then requires us to ask *how* people sensed and, therefore, how they interacted, gathered and moved through their lived spaces.

NEGOTIATING SENSES AND SPACE

Sixteenth-century social life continued to be strongly informed by late medieval theories of sensation and cognition. Perception was understood to encompass simultaneous and collaborative spiritual, moral, intellectual and corporeal resonances that are foreign to a world governed by a knowledge of modern physiology. While the theoretical literature circulated among an educated elite, its core precepts filtered into communities in more practical ways—through the confessional, comportment literature, imagery and legislation—so that citizens could conform their behaviors to civic and ecclesiastic expectations. Knowledge of how one sensed was critical for comprehending the boundaries of orthodox belief and religious practice, for example, as well as containing prescriptions (and proscriptions) for social relations. Several points bear consideration here for the ways they construct intelligible ideas and lived space, particularly as social boundaries and sensory ratios appear to become more fluid.⁷

First, the general sensory paradigm within which knowledge was obtained and constructed remained relatively stable in theory and practice throughout early modernity, even as forms of association began to exhibit significant changes. The senses and intellect were not separate but, rather, existed in a causal, sequential relationship, and one of the commonplaces that persists throughout the early modern period is the expression 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius in sensu' (Nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses).⁸ Second, the neo-Platonic "dynamic, reciprocal nature of medieval vision"—seeing as akin to touching—continued to govern social perception and practice. This physicality of sensing was maintained even as physiological investigations were beginning to modify perceptual theory. This approach to the senses spatializes and objectifies

all experience as “sensation takes the form of ‘a kind of mean . . . between two objects.’”⁹ There is, therefore, an intermediality to encounters with other bodies that is based in the five senses and the medium through which each was understood to operate. If the eye was simultaneously “receptive and active, vulnerable and grasping,”¹⁰ then who was viewed versus who was invisible, who could see and be seen, obtained greater resonance in social interactions. Finally, as early modern thinkers tried to refine their understanding of the collaboration and interactions of the perceptual system, there was continued interest in Aristotle’s *sensus communis*, discussed in the *Parva naturalia* and *De Anima*. The common sense was thought to collate external impressions and create internal imagery that could then be translated to the intellect through intermediary realms of imagination, phantasy and memory.¹¹ In addition to specific sense data, it processed the common sensibles of “motion, rest, figure, magnitude, number and unity”—qualities that Aristotle considered to be perceptible by any or all of the senses.¹² This means that we need to consider not only the aural or olfactory nature of the street, for example, but also the dynamic rhythms of people’s relationships with that lived, ever-changing space as sensorially significant acts.

The body joins sense and rhythm through the perceptual awareness of repetition and tempo, and the formation of publics implies a certain rhythmicity as their members move through the city with regularity to places of meeting, and as meeting spaces and times establish their own *place gestures*—what cultural sociologist Monica Degen describes as “affordances created between places, buildings and people.”¹³ In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre argues that “social practice presupposes the use of the body; the use of the hands, members and sensory organs, and the gestures of work as of activity related to work.”¹⁴ More recently, Degen has asserted that “sensory collisions . . . create publicness.”¹⁵ It is people’s sensorial encounters with one another and with their environment that instantiate public life. When we suggest the location of a particular public, then, we must do so with an awareness of how space is accessed, experienced, assessed and modified. By investigating the sensory dimension of these encounters, we can provide a richer description of the phenomenon of making publics in early modernity, a description that illuminates the processes of *how* people gathered, not just *what* they found to be of interest in that gathering.

Publics are formed in part by how their members negotiate access to the urban environment and the porosity of social and geographic boundaries. Through our senses, we organize our world and our relations with others. As I have suggested, movement and proprioceptive awareness are fundamental to this negotiation.¹⁶ Lefebvre’s final work, *Rhythmanalysis*,

engages on this level and offers a valuable method with which to describe urban spaces. Lefebvre explores quotidian repetition through his study of musical elements and the individual details of bodily movement in space—repetition, tempo and various patterns of circularity.¹⁷ Similarly, Ash Amin explains that special attention to the patterns of usage, “the marking of multiple temporalities,” and the ways “rhythms are constantly broken or radically altered by combinations that generate novelty” are instructive when analyzing how public space is accessed and experienced.¹⁸

We can conceive of the making of publics as a repetitive, rhythmic, bodily encounter where subtle or sudden variations are introduced while new encounters extend and modify existing ones; such an approach helps to describe part of the growth process of publics. Both Degen and Erin Manning take up these processes of bodily encounter in their work on the heterotopia of public space and the political agency of the senses. Like Lefebvre, they address the rhythmicity of encounter, the relational sensemaking of touch and overlapping sensory claims to space made by residents in dialogue with or in opposition to those with political or economic power. The regular traversing of the city—walking the streets to participate in the reception and dissemination of news, for example, or conversation in a salon about a new work of art—creates the space and time of daily life. This movement is literally a touching of the environment and filled with the potential for touching others.

In *Politics of Touch*, Manning describes touch as a political gesture: “the proposition is that touch—every act of reaching toward—enables the creation of worlds. This production is relational. I reach out to touch you in order to invent a relation that will, in turn, invent me.”¹⁹ The creation of webs of relation, as in a public, is reflexive in that it brings each person into being as a result of each one’s mutual interest and association. Manning argues for a gestural politics and for the role of the sensing, moving body in negotiating time and space, influence, multiplicity, experience and the political sphere within a relational model. She is interested in elaborating the “relational matrices” of the body, and her inquiry offers a way into thinking about the nature of the shared experiences of publics.²⁰ These relations are being perpetually renegotiated: the overlapping of spaces and the sensory negotiations that occur between them, their heterotopic qualities and the way they interact with each other in the Venetian context can put institutional publicity into productive collision with groups seeking to create their own places of social interaction—protoacademies, performative publics, publics for news and so forth.

In *Sensing Cities*, Degen foregrounds sensorial existence as aesthetic *and* practiced, individual *and* collective, experienced *and* constructed—qualities that are fundamental to reassessing the formation of public life and the competing sensory interests of groups seeking to establish their presence.²¹ In addition, her work prompts a rethinking of the critical debates raised by post-Habermasian writers on the role of discourse in publics and the public

sphere, and she urges nuanced readings that take into account the ambiguous and sensuous natures of private, public and threshold spaces. A central issue raised by Degen is “how the sensuous organization of public space [might] enhance or exclude the participation of particular groups in public life.”²² This extension of earlier Annales approaches to *mentalités* delves into the official governmental construction or repression of practices within its population. Degen also takes up the issue of affordances and reiterates James Gibson’s assertion that “the composition and layout of environments and objects ‘affords’ certain types of behaviours. . . . These affordances are not inscribed in space, but rather activated through people’s sensory experiences, *by moving through, touching, smelling, tasting, hearing and seeing objects and places.*”²³ When spaces are reconfigured or when an activity moves from one space to another, they “reconfigure affordances and resistances which produce new sensescapes.”²⁴ In addition to an active public making, then, there is an “active sense-making.”²⁵ We might consider affordances created by nature as well as shifts in the built environment in the sensescapes of publics. For example, as I will discuss further below, historian Filippo de Vivo notes the movement of groups discussing news between interior spaces like the barbershop or pharmacy and the open-air *campi* that changed with the Venetian weather; the location would determine the level of visibility or audibility for a public as well as for observers.²⁶

One common element discussed in work on orality, smell, touch, vision or movement in urban spaces is that of regulation, which reflects disapproval for “common practices” and the problematic role of the bodies of the marginalized, especially when they lay claim to social agency and public space. These points are explored, in part, by both Manning and Degen, who interrogate the sensorial encoding of power in the way activities are controlled and urban environments manipulated through shifting visual regimes, immigration concerns and attitudes toward touch, manual labor and unhealthy odors.²⁷ The existence of such regulations also implies the ongoing transgression of sensory boundaries that have the potential to compromise governmental ideals. Regulation defines points of access to public life and determines spatial affordances. David Garrioch reminds us, for example, that “whoever controlled sound commanded a vital medium of communication and power.”²⁸ Making noise was (and remains) one way to claim space, and power: ritual insult and character assassination challenged early modern civic order, not least when it involved the singing of lewd songs below windows in the middle of the night. Anton Francesco Doni makes such nocturnal serenades seem commonplace: “there is a street where all night long wretches who waste the daytime pass up and down singing strambotti [lewd songs] noisily and certain erotic little madrigals.”²⁹ Viewing the street, for example, as “an intense sensuous encounter”³⁰ prompts queries into the inclusionary or exclusionary qualities of public spaces and how some are open to one group, mostly upper-class men, while being closed to “others”—the poor, women and immigrants.

To fully appreciate how a public comes into being, then, it is critical to understand the perceptual framework and its potential to inform social interaction. Quotidian movement creates the rhythmic patterns of social encounter and elicits the sensorial responses that collaborate in the “sensory collisions” of publicness. Ambient factors play a role, influencing how and when particular locations might be used. The relational model outlined above is one that links the senses to space, and space to social, even political, agency: members of a community create public life through accessing and negotiating the spaces of the social and urban environments in order to arrive at meaningful exchange.

VENICE

Thinking about the nature of Venice’s sensory environment and the movement of people in the city leads us to the question of how early modern people created the spaces of publics. The intense sensory encounters provided by the spaces and passages of the city might have aroused concern among the citizenry or even ignited conflicts that provoked regulation. Spaces that were often under careful scrutiny by officials of government and church for what was visible, heard, smelled or touched could also be claimed as spaces of freedom of movement by citizens seeking information or gathering to discuss the “things of the world.”³¹

The design of the city produced a rich array of bodily encounters over and across watery canals and through paved or earthen streets, with the water and land traffic being different in pace and character. People and their wares circulated through very narrow streets and around sharp corners—the streets were abuzz with gossip and the noises of life as people moved, perhaps touching as they passed in the crowded spaces between walls. Smells pleased or assailed them as they passed; snatches of conversations caught their attention. Tight corners and streets that did not respect principles of linearity meant that sight, sound and smell in particular could not be regulated by tradition or decree, but were organized by the urban environment itself. As is the case today, sight over a long distance was impeded until one arrived at one of the *campi* or the Piazza itself, or at the extremities of the islands of Venice looking out to the lagoon or the *terra firma* to north and west. Moreover, sounds and smells were either completely or partially blocked by the sharp changes of direction as one moved through the streets, making private squares with limited points of access even more private, and at times rendering the origins of sounds mysterious.

Crossing geographic and sensory boundaries was part of the daily experience of many Venetians and was characteristic for those involved in trade, governance and the cultural life of the city. In his study of neighborhoods in Renaissance Venice, Joseph Wheeler notes that many of the city’s residents stayed in or very near their parishes and neighborhoods; for most, access

to the political center was limited. Sociability generally took place at the parish level, in large part because residents were organized around kinship relationships, ethnicity or profession, and tended to cluster accordingly; and women remained mostly within their neighborhoods, developing their close friendships near where they lived. This did not preclude occasions for leaving their immediate familiar space and coming into contact with other Venetians across the city, native and foreign, and the possibility of new encounters. Some essential services (bakeries, for example) only existed in neighboring parishes or another *sestiere*, creating a need for regular travel outside one's immediate living or working location.³²

The city's elite, too, were not residents of a single *sestiere*. They routinely traversed the various sections of the city to get to Rialto for banking and trade, or to read the latest decrees and information posted there; they made their way to Piazza San Marco for the business of government as well as for civic ceremonies and entertainments or to attend the public lectures given there; or they participated in one of the *scuoli* or lay brotherhoods for charitable work and ceremonial duties. One could live some distance from the Piazza and be close to power, or within meters and have almost no access to power at all. This movement through the city streets can be described as rhythmic—occurring repetitively and yet creating variable patterns of engagement. As Lefebvre explains, the demands of the everyday require repetitive organization, and it is this very repetition that produces difference, suggesting the potential for the encounters that shape public life.³³

Rialto is one of the public spaces in Venice that could be described as having rhythmic and modulating *place gestures*—those affordances created between people and their environment—in response to the tone and content of the street posters, the *bandi* posted there (whether official or unofficial) and the potential discourse around them, the ebb and flow of many Venetians each day, the material goods and funds that changed hands, the fish market and the slums of the prostitutes nearby. Sanudo described the *piazzetta* of Rialto as a place “where everyone goes both morning and afternoon,” suggesting a rhythm and frequency to encounters, uncontested access and a negotiation of rights to communication in that space.³⁴ As the locus of political dissemination, Rialto would have drawn actors from across the city into physical proximity and made them part of the overall speech culture of rumor, gossip and speculation.³⁵

The noise of the street, and the urban environment more generally, is currently at the forefront of a renewed historical examination of orality, its perception and its regulation, with Venice as one hot point. Some of the particular sensory collisions (to use Degen's terminology) that we can apprehend in early modern Venice were those that appeared around practices of speech and vision. Observation of, and listening to, what was happening in the streets and in the homes of one's neighbors was of keen interest to Venetians; indeed, the government deemed such neighborly surveillance critical to the stability of the state.

With these points in mind, then, I turn now to several historians whose recent studies engage directly with the sensory aspects of the street and other less private conversation spaces—Alexander Cowan, Elizabeth Horodowich and de Vivo. Early modern concerns about liminal spaces, surveillance and speech are an integral part of their work, and their important questions about the nature of association bear on the formation of publics.

In his essay “Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice,” Cowan examines the relations between the physical environment, modes of access to the residence or the residence/street relationship and the knowledge of others and of their movements in the city. As he seeks to understand the ways that personal reputation was established, maintained or challenged, he investigates the affordances created by permeable street spaces for interaction through rumor and gossip, as well as testimonies of personal character. Balconies, windows and doorways are particular features of interest as he considers degrees of concealment and display, particularly of women’s bodies, and the role of visual and aural observation among one’s neighbors in regulating the social environment.³⁶ Cowan posits that balconies are important to understanding several overlapping sensory concerns: the visual, aural, olfactory and tactile nature of thresholds in Venice and their connections with how one forms ideas about people, how spaces become gendered and how they are used. Balconies offer privileged views to those who have them, as well as aural and olfactory access to the outside that does not necessitate viewing; one can be an eyewitness, or an earwitness, without the two necessarily coinciding. And balconies can make things public for those who appear on them and hold conversations between apartments at balcony level, some of which are only slightly above the street while others are placed at the second floor.³⁷

Street culture, then, has to be thought of as multivalent, as interactions in public and between a more public space and the domestic interior take place above as well as within the space of the street more narrowly defined. That this was possible, and a frequent occurrence, was due to the sheer density of the built environment and the narrowness of the streets and canals, above which balconies protruded, sometimes nearly connecting the two sides. Women might use these spaces for self-display, as well as to monitor the behavior of their neighbors, a practice likely to also depend to a certain extent on the weather: the balcony’s function as ventilation in the warmer months created opportunities for neighbors to witness what went on next door, giving a seasonal rhythm to the viability of some communicative spaces. Cowan’s work on liminal spaces, the balconies (and doors and windows) of Venice, reiterates the need to consider how people move across thresholds into (and out of) association.

Horodowich’s monograph, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice*, relates speech to gesture, drawing attention to the premodern physicality of sensing where speech was equated with action, and transgressive speech—blasphemy and insult, even gossip—could be punished as severely

as or more severely than a physical assault. The question of language, too, was important in all levels of discussion in Renaissance Italy, not just in the formal dialogues to come out of court or salon, or among philosophers, philologists or poets. Horodowich ties this debate to more practical considerations in the city as she delves into codes of conversation as defined by comportment books, insult, blasphemy, gossip and the speech of courtesans. Her work covers a range of politicized and gendered forms of oral expression in the city as well as how the contradictions between ideals of social speech and the reality of quotidian speaking were transacted.

Horodowich's aim is to examine the concerns raised by public speech in general and the perception and regulation of women's access to social speaking in particular. In her introduction, she asks, "why did Venetians pay so much attention to spoken language in the sixteenth century, and following Gramsci's musings, what deeper anxieties did these concerns betray?"³⁸ In the process of trying to answer this question, she investigates the Renaissance question of language as a "social rather than simply intellectual phenomenon."³⁹ Her discussion of the art of conversation and several etiquette classics of the sixteenth century—Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* (1558) and Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversatione* (1574)—focuses on how they taught readers to assess the sensory self-presentation of others as a part of social association and acceptance. These books covered "proper and improper talk," how much one spoke, how one acted, dressed, ate, etc. The control of the body as well as the appropriate social distance when in conversation were all addressed as, for example, when Della Casa emphasizes the physicality of conversation, stressing that "one should not get so close to the man that he breathes on his face, for you will find that many men do not like to smell someone else's breath."⁴⁰

We can use these prescriptions for polite social intercourse in considering the ritualistic as well as repetitive elements of public making. The prescriptions speak to concerns about who would be suitable for sustained relationships (or not) and levels of perhaps overlapping, interrelated "spheres" of public association, from the most basic street encounters or regular sharing of courtesies, to the more refined and sustained interaction of close-knit circles including kin, friends and like-minded acquaintances. While Horodowich does not specifically develop an argument about the sensory impact of public speech, or the sensory construction of public space through speech relations, her work does advance how we view the aural and visual relations between spaces—balcony or window to street, street to salon and street to places of power—as well as our understanding of language as "an active force" in the early modern city.

Like Cowan's and Horodowich's studies, de Vivo's *Information and Communication in Venice* interrogates the circulation of discourse as the circulation of bodies. He ascribes a rhythmic quality to the city in tracing the routes of political and economic communication, as well as elaborating

in detail the spaces in which people walked and talked. Unlike the other two authors, de Vivo is tracing the development of an early modern public for news as he examines the relationships of space and political communications in two particular locations—the pharmacy and the barbershop. He also expands the discussion of exchange of information at Rialto, Piazza San Marco, the circulation of *Avvisi* and access to information through orality and literacy. He describes the formation of a public for the exchange of news and the particular spaces in which they tended to meet based on his extensive interrogation of the archives, histories and personal documents. He further critiques the Habermasian model of the rational public sphere and its timing, as well as the more exclusive space of the coffeehouse as its prominent location of development, through an investigation of the practices of communication in the sixteenth, and more particularly the early seventeenth, centuries in Venice.

The Piazza San Marco and Rialto formed two poles for the dissemination of official information in Venice and their qualities in this regard have been the subject of many studies.⁴¹ De Vivo adds nuance to prior research by looking at the ways sociability and the circulation of information occur within them, radiating out and overlapping with open-air locations and with shops. For example, he describes the regular peripatetic conversations in Piazza San Marco of the *bozzoli*, circles of friends or acquaintances which John Florio described in the early seventeenth century as being “between four and six men who gathered to walk and talk about the things of the world.”⁴² A larger group would have been unwieldy and would have increased the difficulty of participating in conversation in Venice’s noisy public spaces. De Vivo points to the lack of semisheltered public space in Venice at this time—there were few porches or spaces between buildings where such meetings could otherwise take place—as one factor that encouraged the use of the Piazza in this way.⁴³ It was not usual to invite anyone but kin and intimate friends to one’s residence, forcing groups of men (particularly) to co-opt various public spaces for purposes of sociability and enabling them to thrive.⁴⁴ The *bozzoli* met at regular “walking times” and the term came to apply to other similar gatherings in *campi* throughout the city. These were permeable and public conversation spaces: first, it would be surprising if these groups were not fluid, with men moving in and out of them as they discussed points of common interest; second, passersby, observers or those talking in other groups could likely overhear conversations taking place there; and third, any changes in the environment—light, smell, sounds, temperature—would be remarked upon, and perhaps necessitate the abandonment of the meeting for the day or force the conversation to continue in another space.

Two indoor locations to which individuals or small groups might turn were barbershops and pharmacies. In Pietro Aretino’s comedy *Il Marescalco* (1534), the barbershop is the “shop of truth,” the place “where all the courtiers from the whole world dismount and bring their news,” and the barber

is the man “who knows so many things.”⁴⁵ Barbershops were places where one could hear the latest news broadsheets read aloud if one couldn’t read, as well as the latest rumors and neighborhood gossip. For example, de Vivo examines a barbershop’s role in the transmission of “a *paternoster* in verse disgracing the Spanish nation and the King,” read aloud by a priest and written out in manuscript so that the barber could have a copy for himself. It caught the attention of the Council of Ten because the Spanish consul took offense and an investigation ensued, showing that the offending piece had traveled a much wider route around the city with the barbershop at one point of that circulation.⁴⁶

More information seems to exist on the role of pharmacies in the period, perhaps because some apothecaries realized their potential to provide a conversation space by creating a comfortable environment in which clients could await their medicines; enjoy a conversation, a cabinet of curiosities, painting and sculptures; or perhaps sip a drink or enter into a game of chess, drawing the attention not only of the city’s residents but also its surveillance network.⁴⁷ These “props” could certainly provide some of the sensory objects to encourage talk and spice up the ambience while adding to the general enjoyment of the place. De Vivo also refers to the remarks of the goldsmith Alessandro Caravia, who noted in 1541 that “only paradise would smell better than a pharmacy.”⁴⁸

It is in de Vivo’s discussion of these two locations that he makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the spaces of sociability in early modern Venice, apart from the salons or academies that garner more frequent attention. Both kinds of establishment used information to attract customers, serving their own economic self-interest while at the same time facilitating the encounter of people across class, ethnic and religious persuasion. The clientele of barbershops was more socially heterogeneous than that of the salons. Census takers also noted that some pharmacies were maintained by women, so gender may also be a consideration.⁴⁹ Those interested in information and the discussion of news created a repetitive pattern of visits to San Marco, to Rialto, to barbershops and/or pharmacies in seeking the latest information that might bear on diplomacy or profit, or to pursue knowledge of those things of the world that caught their interest.

Sociable or chance encounters in piazzas or streets or shops do not guarantee the formation of publics, of course. What is of use, though, is considering the access people had to others in these places and their permeability vis-à-vis other spaces of gathering; the affordances and place gestures created through various modes of encounter; and the locations where people found it conducive and pleasant to prolong their association in order to gather around things of interest and, in the process, to realize a collaborative reinvention of their social being. One of the points of the many comportment books popular in the period was that meeting in the streets would entail one’s judgment of others—a refinement of perceptive discernment. As Bronwen Wilson has pointed out, people would normally have been

classifiable by the garments they were wearing since what one could wear was defined by sumptuary laws and regulations of attire by class, profession, religion and ethnicity—changing one's clothing was transgressive and even criminal since it amounted to an attempt to change one's fundamental identity.⁵⁰ Judgment based on visual, aural and olfactory cues is an important factor in how people construct their social and spatial world, and in sixteenth-century Venice (as today) this discernment would have led to an inclusion of some and exclusion of others. However, as de Vivo explains, there were places to which people of all social strata had access in order to claim a part in the creation of the spaces of public life, directly or indirectly, through the networks of communication and the social rhythms of the early modern city. And he points to a less unified public sphere than that originally explored by Habermas, one that evolves as much in collaboration with the institutions of power as it does in opposition to them.

The particular features of the city form not just a backdrop for communicative action but are part of the social fabric. Social life creates spaces with dynamic and complex meanings as the environmental and social dimensions of sensing are brought into productive collision. Sociability entails movement and the crossing of both geographic and sensory boundaries as well as how negotiations of movement are determined by the nature of the spaces involved and the affordances they create. In essence, the places of sociability can be conceived as multivalent spaces of encounter shaped by a web of relations brought into being by repetition, gesture and shared experience.

CONCLUSION

Scholarship on the social life of the senses has long been occupied with sensory hierarchies and their representation in various media; it has approached the processes of perception and cognition and how they formed an understanding of one's place in the sensorial cosmos according to class, gender or species—what defined humanity over animality, for example. What has often been missing is an approach that integrates an awareness of how lived practices—the experiential side of the equation—relate to the theoretical in the social construction of the sensorial environment at any given place/time. Writing on the senses over the last twenty years has increasingly taken into account and reintegrated practice with theory. A significant body of work now illuminates the sensory landscape of public spaces; it offers the vocabulary and an increasingly holistic viewpoint from which to interrogate how people interact with their spatial environment and how those interactions form part of the creation of new forms of association.

What has been critical in bringing together the literature on the senses with that on publics has been the recent growth of scholarship about publics, as researchers have sought to describe and differentiate them from other modes of association in early modern Europe as well as from

the various public spheres that originated out of responses to Habermas. Introducing a discussion of sensory practice helps to ground the theory of publics in the immediacy and complexity of social life. For the sixteenth century, this means recalling the collaborative modalities of sensing as well as the integral role of the senses in the practices of early modern life. Just as the spatial turn has required scholars to consider the places of activity and how they might play a formative role in a given situation, so too the new sensory turn urges us to question anew how spaces elicit the sensory responses of the people acting within them. When something in the environment changes (for example, the “clean up” of San Marco to redignify it as a space of state publicity), we must question whether the resulting acoustic changes, shifts in sight lines or touching of stone alter how people in the piazza understood their relationships with each other. Finally, focusing on sensory encounter draws our attention to the growth of publics as a processive outcome of the sensory rhythms of the movements and interactions of people in the city.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Marin Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*: BCV ms. Cicogna 969, quoted in *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan, with Jennifer Fletcher, Renaissance Society of America Reprint Texts 12 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 9.
2. “*Le principal soing que j’aye à me loger, c’est de fuir l’air puant et poissant. Ces belles villes, Venise et Paris, alterent la faveur que je leur porte, par l’aigre senteur, l’une des son marets, l’autre de sa boue.*” M. de Montaigne, “Des Senteurs,” chap. 55, in *Essais*, book 1 (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1969), 375. The translation is John Florio’s 1603 edition (Eugene, OR: University of Oregon: Renaissance Editions, 1999), 330.
3. See Iain Fenlon’s discussion of the aural environment of Venice’s public spaces and the construction of state image in *The Piazza San Marco* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
4. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 190.
5. See Erin Manning, *The Politics of Touch: Sense, Movement, Sovereignty* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
6. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991); Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*; Craig Calhoun, who “suggests thinking of the public sphere as involving a field of discursive connections” in his introduction to *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 37.

7. For accessible introductions, see François Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010); and Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook, foreword by Mircea Eliade (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
8. See Couliano, 92; Quiviger, 17, notes that “for over four hundred years Aristotle’s account of the sensitive soul was the only available cognitive model in the West” up until the mid-seventeenth century works of Descartes and early research on brain anatomy. See also Edward P. Mahoney, “Sense, Intellect, and Imagination in Albert, Thomas, and Siger,” in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, and Eleonore Stump (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
9. See Daniel Heller-Roazen, “Common Sense: Greek, Arabic, Latin,” in *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage, Fascinations, Frames*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas Kablitz, and Alison Calhoun (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 33. Heller-Roazen quotes Aristotle, *De Anima*, book 2, 424a2.
10. Susannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 3.
11. There exists longstanding and ongoing debate over how this process actually operated. See for example the essays by Tuomo Aho, Pekka Kärkkäinen and Henrik Lagerlund in *Psychology and Philosophy*, ed. S. Heinamaa and M. Reuter (n.p.: Springer, 2009).
12. For analysis of Aristotle’s *De sensu* and its legacy, see Daniel Heller-Roazen, *The Inner Touch: Archaeology of a Sensation* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).
13. Monica Montserrat Degen, *Sensing Cities: Regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester* (London: Routledge, 2008), 49.
14. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Maldon, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 40.
15. Degen, *Sensing Cities*, 21.
16. See Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1984] 1988).
17. Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Eldon and Gerald Moore, introduction by Stuart Eldon (London: Continuum, [2004] 2008). It is important to note Lefebvre’s original title *Éléments de rythmanalyse* (1992) for his emphasis on tools for interpretation that evade a simple definition of rhythm as movement and instead seek the base elements that create rhythm.
18. Ash Amin, “Collective Culture and Urban Public Space,” *City* 12, no. 1, 12, online publication date April 1, 2008.
19. Manning, *The Politics of Touch*, xv. See also Michael J. Braddick, ed., “Introduction: The Politics of Gesture,” special issue, *Past and Present* 203 (2009): suppl. no. 4, 9–35.
20. Manning, *The Politics of Touch*, xiii.
21. Degen’s extensive literature review also provides an invaluable resource for those entering into the conversation on the practices of the senses, space and the public sphere.
22. Degen, *Sensing Cities*, 9.
23. *Ibid.*, 48 (emphasis mine). Degen refers to James Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1986), and John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies* (London: Routledge, 2000).

24. Degen, *Sensing Cities*, 48.
25. Ibid.
26. Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Filippo de Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 4 (2007): 505–521.
27. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward, eds., *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007). The contributions by Cowan and Jo Wheeler in particular focus on case studies related to touch and stench (respectively) in early modern Venice.
28. David Garrioch, "Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns," *Urban History* 20, no. 1 (2003): 18.
29. Anton Francesco Doni, "Living Poorly: The Squalid Lodgings of Anton Francesco Doni, 1550," from Doni, *La Libreria* (Venice, 1550), 86–88; quoted in Chambers and Pullan, trans. David Chambers and Dora Thornton, 181. The concern of authorities with regard to these incidents is examined, for example, by Peter Burke, "Insult and Blasphemy in Early Modern Italy," chap. 8 in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1987] 2005), 95–109.
30. Degen, *Sensing Cities*, 3. See also Riitta Laitinen and Thomas Cohen, eds., "Cultural History of Early Modern Streets," special issue, *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008). See also Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
31. De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 93.
32. Joseph Wheeler, "Neighborhoods and Local Loyalties in Renaissance Venice," in *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400–1700*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 31–42. See also Cowan, "Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice," *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008), 313–333.
33. Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis*.
34. Sanudo, in Chambers and Pullan, 11.
35. Peter Burke, "Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication," in *Reconsidering Venice: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000): 389–419; Cowan, "Gossip"; Elizabeth Horodowich, *A Brief History of Venice: A New History of the City and Its People* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2009).
36. James Amelang has, likewise, discussed balconies as one of the "strategic spaces . . . which straddled the borders separating public from private, high from low, and participation from observation" in "The Myth of the Mediterranean City: Perceptions of Sociability," *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400–1700*, ed. Alexander Cowan (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 15–30.
37. Alexander Cowan, "Seeing Is Believing: Urban Gossip and the Balcony in Early Modern Italy" (paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America annual meeting, Venice, Italy, April 8, 2010). Even balcony views were limited, though, by the shape of the streets, few of which could be described as *tutto diretto*!
38. Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2.
39. Ibid., 3.
40. Giovanni Della Casa, *Galateo* (1558), quoted in Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft*, 44. See also Montaigne, "Des Senteurs," 373.

41. Burke, "Early Modern Venice," and Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), are among the most recent contributions to this discussion.
42. John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues. Whereunto Are Added Certain Necessarie Rules and Short Observation for the Italian Tongue* (London: M. Bradwood, 1611), in de Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 92.
43. James Amelang notes that travelers from northern Europe often remarked on the outdoor sociability of the more temperate Mediterranean cities, a particular affordance for this kind of peripatetic exchange ("The Myth of the Mediterranean City").
44. See the discussion in Cowan, "Gossip."
45. Pietro Aretino, *Il Marescalco*, 1:3 and 3:9, trans. Leonard G. Sbrocchi and J. Douglas Campbell, *Carleton Renaissance Plays in Translation* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Publications, 1986), 44, 79.
46. De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 144.
47. See de Vivo, "Pharmacies."
48. *Il sogno del Caravia* (In Venegia, 1541), sig. C2v, in de Vivo, "Pharmacies," 520.
49. De Vivo, "Pharmacies," 516.
50. Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, The City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), esp. chap. 2, "Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies."

9 Town and Country

The Geography of the English Literary Public

Kevin Pask

After more than seventy-five years, Erich Auerbach's essay, "La Cour et la Ville," remains a formidable contribution to our knowledge of the literary public as it developed in France in the seventeenth century. In many respects, that essay's discussion of the social and geographic contours of a literary public has not been equaled since, despite the widespread interest in the idea of the public sphere occasioned by the work of Jürgen Habermas and others. Auerbach's essay was part of a larger project on the literary public, now subordinated in his posthumous reputation to the great and lasting success of *Mimesis*, but one which in fact consumed much of his efforts in the last years of his life, culminating in *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*.¹ In the essay, Auerbach demonstrates the development of a new conception of the literary public over the course of the seventeenth century: an alliance of a "court nobility that had lost its function" with "the bourgeoisie, or at least that part of it that may be termed *ville*, which was also alienated from its original function as an economic class."² The literary public created by the conjunction of these two social groupings belonged completely to neither the court nor the city. Geographically, this public tended to inhabit the more recently developed areas of elite residence in Paris, such as the Place Dauphine on the Île de la Cité, or the Place Royale (now the Place des Vosges) in the Marais. If this literary public's most characteristic cultural formation was the intimate *ruelle* ("alley" between the bed and a wall) of the Parisian salon, Auerbach is at least as attentive to the role of theater in the formation of a literary public, particularly the shifting status of the *parterre*, the standing-room pit originally dominated by the bourgeoisie and the *peuple*, but later appealing to *la cour et la ville* as well. Auerbach helps to correct the antitheatricity which is, as Steven Mullaney argues, implicit in Habermas's account of the literary public.³ For Habermas, the privileged genres of the new literary public are the letter, the essay and eventually the novel. In both England and France, however, literary criticism and the literary public are almost unthinkable without the public theater that so often served as the occasion for exactly the kind of critical debate valorized by Habermas. Theater, moreover, was not simply the occasion for critical debate; it formed a public site, the space of actual theatrical performance,

and its subject matter actively represented that public to itself. Theater looms large even over the forms that Habermas tends to place at some distance from theatrical representation, notably the letter and the essay.

The self-representation of the English public in the theater revolved around a set of geographic terms closely related to Auerbach's *la cour et la ville*: court, city, town and country. As in France, spatial metonymies were meant to connote social and cultural status. Auerbach's analysis supplies a model for thinking about the development of an English literary public, but the terms need to be revised for local conditions. Both court and city exerted cultural influence in seventeenth-century London, but the cultural influence of the court reached its apogee in the early part of the century, rather than the latter part, as was the case in France. Landed wealth, the "country" in English society, exerted an economic and political influence well beyond anything imagined by a largely tamed French aristocracy. Although country squires are often derided or ignored in the Restoration texts that celebrate the town as the arbiter of the English literary public, it would be a mistake to underestimate the cultural role of the country. For this reason, I suggest an already well-known term, "town and country," to describe the symbolic geography of the English literary public as it develops over the seventeenth century.⁴ This is a remarkably long-lasting formation in English life, and one that continued to shape the English literary public up to the time of Wilde, Waugh, Woolf and Wodehouse. The literary public associated with a town and country world was not commensurate with the rate of literacy; it certainly did not include all *readers*. If this literary public was still considerably more public, in our sense of the word, than the courtly one that preceded it, the spatial configurations that surrounded its initial formation also did what all spatial imaginaries tend to do: it established boundaries, however permeable. But it was also a new kind of cultural space. "The bare landscape" of English literature, wrote Virginia Woolf of the seventeenth-century epistolary writer Dorothy Osborne, suddenly "becomes full of stir and quiver and we can fill in the spaces between the great books with the voices of people talking."⁵ Woolf acutely registers the presence in Osborne's letters of the oxygen of a literary public: the "spaces between" the literary monuments. These new spaces are quotidian and geographic in their nature, and they lend themselves to new forms of cultural cartography. It is no accident that London itself, the hub of the literary public, enters fully into literary representation in this period.⁶ The new literary public did not simply reflect a new social geography; it was actively engaged in constructing it and reflecting upon it as well.

COURT AND CITY

The town and country literary public was bound up with the wealth and prestige of landed wealth in England. "Court and City," however, probably

remained the dominant political and cultural formation of early Stuart England.⁷ If this formation reflects the power of the court in concert with the City of London and its chartered companies, there were also increasingly independent sources of wealth: agricultural capitalism in the country and merchant interlopers in the growing Atlantic trade.⁸ As many observers noted even at the time, politically unconstrained wealth already far surpassed that controlled or protected by the state.⁹ If revisionist historians have called into question the cohesive political clout of landed wealth, especially in shaping the Civil War, its cultural impact can still be measured in the growth of the West End in the seventeenth century. Unlike the court-sponsored development of *la cour et la ville* in Paris, the London “town” relied much more heavily on recruits from landed wealth independent of the court. From early in the seventeenth century, the novel presence of the landed gentry arriving in London for longer periods of residence, enjoying the delights of a developing “consumer society,” resulted in a number of proclamations, from both James I and Charles I, essentially ordering the gentry back to their estates in the country.¹⁰

As early as Ben Jonson’s *Epicene, or The Silent Woman* (1609), it is possible to identify a cultural formation that looks, at least retrospectively, like an emergent culture of the town, no longer exactly the same as the legal boundaries of the City of London (hereafter referred to as the City), but sometimes outside its boundaries, first in the Strand and Covent Garden. As Janette Dillon has observed, the opening of the play, in Clerimont’s house, is quickly located “here i’ the town.”¹¹ Along with the warning of Clerimont’s boy that his song will “get you the dangerous name of a poet in town” (1.1.6), there is a fairly consistent use of the word suggesting the town, rather than the City, as the proper social location of young men such as Clerimont, Dauphine and Truewit. In fact, as Dillon further argues, this is part of a consistent pattern of the “masking of place,” which obscures the role of the City. Jonson does not require a developed town, in the form of the West End, nor did such a development yet exist in anything but the sketchiest form. The town might still be geographically inside the City, even if already culturally and socially set apart. Still, some movement westwards is already discernible, and that movement perhaps registers the influence of factors outside the court and the City. Sir Amorous Foole, whose title suggests secure landed wealth, dwells in the Strand, the residence of the elite and the site of the New Exchange, whose construction in 1609 perhaps served as the occasion for Jonson’s play. Sir Amorous himself is clearly delighted with the social cachet provided by his address when he compliments Clerimont’s lodgings:

La F: Good faith, it is a fine lodging! Almost as delicate a lodging as mine.

Cle: Not so, sir.

La F: Excuse me, sir, if it were i’ the Strand, I assure you. (1.4.4–7)

As with Jonsonian comedy more generally, the lampooning of social climbing and self-fashioning is the order of the day. The novel element is the association of this comic world with the new consumer paradise of the New Exchange and the China houses. The female "Collegiates" satirized in the play for their pretensions to learning, meanwhile, also inhabit a space defined as one between court and country: "an order between courtiers and country-madams, that live from their husbands; and give entertainment to all the Wits and Braveries o' the time" (1.1.67–69). Although it is never stated explicitly, they also seem to belong to this emergent West End world. What Jonson satirizes in the *Collegiates* is an embryonic salon culture of the sort that would later characterize the Parisian literary public. Its focus is the partial disengagement of the town from the City, of cultural from financial capital. The main plot is Dauphine's attempt to secure his inheritance from his uncle, Morose, a figure who seems to belong more to the City, even if his primary relationship to the urban world is his antisocial humor: the attempt to block out the sounds of urban life. As Emrys Jones has argued in a brilliant reading of the play, the swindling of the old miser, already a staple of comedy, registers the comic sociability of the play, but this sociability is now located in a witty and leisured world very different from the City of Morose: "Without in any way advocating it, or even advertizing to it, Jonson shows town and city moving apart."¹²

Recent critics have noticed the spectacle of consumption that Jonson locates in the life of the city.¹³ Consumption and spectacle are, moreover, linked to the relentless acquisition and display of cultural capital in the form of literary knowledge.¹⁴ In the age of the printed book, more generally accessible to a wider range of readers, the question of distinction *between* different forms of literacy becomes increasingly important. The race to the "town" thus coincides with a variety of novel claims to cultural capital. Jonson confronts a world where learning appears to be up for sale, and thus subject to appropriation by almost anyone, whether feminine literati, such as the *Collegiates*, lower-class men such as Otter and Cutbeard who spout Latin or poseur gentlemen such as Jack Daw and La Foole. A new elite, that of the town, emerges in close proximity to this gallimaufry of cultural energies, but must engage in the critical work of establishing what counts as cultural capital, a task that ultimately evolved into the efflorescence of literary criticism in the latter half of the seventeenth century. John Dryden's extended "examen" of *Epicene* in *An Essay of Dramatick Poesie* (1668) recognizes this critical debt to Jonson's comedy.

Even before the Restoration, the critical settlement of cultural capital acquires a strongly spatialized set of references. Caroline playwrights, especially James Shirley and Richard Brome, explored the theatrical possibilities of the new world of the town. The glimmerings of a town society in Jonson's time, according to Martin Butler, had reached a critical mass by the 1630s.¹⁵ The vogue in the 1630s for "place realism" seems to have been particularly focused on representing the places and activities

associated with the new world of leisure and entertainment: Shirley's *Hyde Park* (1632) and *The Ball* (1632), Brome's *The Weeding of Covent Garden* (c. 1633) and his *Sparagus Garden* (1635) and Thomas Nabbes's *Covent Garden* (1633), which responded to Brome's play on the same subject. As much as they reflect the pleasures of the growing city, these plays also integrate the world of the gentry, which was beginning to spend more time in London. *Hyde Park*, moreover, inaugurated a tone quite different from the misogyny of *Epicene*, focusing on the "witty couple" of the play, a choice which reflects the influence of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* rather than of Jonson.

This abandonment of Jonsonian misogyny reflects the significant presence of women in the sites and amusements of the town, including the theater itself.¹⁶ Although a London "season" of leisured activities keyed to the marriage market in the sons and daughters of landed wealth did not clearly emerge until the eighteenth century, there was already a significantly enlarged presence of marriageable women in the literary documents of the period. Shirley's *The Ball* and *Hyde Park*, in particular, seem to scope out a new terrain that would later be associated with the "season." The incipient marriage market, moreover, licensed other forms of incursion into the pleasures of London, for both men and women. The memoirs of Anne Lady Halkett (1623–1699) reveal the extent to which Jonson's Collegiates anticipated the specifically theatrical activities of a later generation of women who came of age in the late 1630s:

And so scrupulous I was of giving any occasion to speake of mee, as I know they did of others, that though I loved well to see plays and to walk in the Spring Garden sometimes (before itt grew some what scandalous by y^e abuse of some), yet I cannot remember 3 times that ever I went with any man besides my brothers; and if I did, my sisters or others better than my selfe was with mee. And I was the first that proposed and practiced itt, for 3 or 4 of us going together withoutt any man, and every one paying for themselves by giving the mony to the footman who waited on us, and he gave itt in the play-house. And this I did first upon hearing some gentlemen telling what ladys they had waited on to plays, and how much itt had cost them; upon which I resolved none should say the same of mee.¹⁷

Margaret Cavendish's memoir records that her brothers and sisters spent their time in London in an early version of the "season": meeting almost every day and attending plays, riding in their coaches and visiting Hyde Park and Spring Garden.¹⁸ The pleasures of the town seem to have become available to elite women, even if under restricted conditions—generally relying on siblings and chaperones in order to participate. Indeed, by the time of Brome's *A Jovial Crew* (1641), the pleasures of London were so readily available to the daughters of the gentry in the country that the women in

the play choose the life of beggars over the established pleasures of London, which have already become stale to them. In the fifth act, Brome introduces these disguised beggars to a band of strolling players, thus reinforcing the symbolic connection between the world of the gentry and that of the London theater, both now in exile and, on the eve of the Civil War, firmly aligned with the country (here in a more inclusive sense than the landed elite) as opposed to the court.¹⁹

Despite Brome's lovely version of pastoral, London's hold on the town and country gentry did not fade in the years of the Civil War and Interregnum, even if the public theater disappeared for almost twenty years. Hyde Park remained a point of reference for the slightly younger Dorothy Osborne (1627–1695) as well. Her letters to William Temple (written 1652–1654), her future husband and Restoration man of letters, begin to draw the pleasures of London high society into the world of the country gentry:

'twould bee a pleasing surprise to mee to see you amongst my Shepherdesses, I meet there sometimes that look very like Gentlemen (for tis a Roade) and when they are in good humor they give us a Complement as they goe by, but you would bee soe Courteous as to stay I hope if wee intreated you, tis in your way to this place, and Just before the house. Tis our Hide Park, and every fine Evening any that wanted a Mistresse might bee sure to fine one over there.²⁰

By the 1650s, the world of the Home Counties (including Osborne's Bedfordshire), at the least, can be amusingly drawn into the orbit of the green spaces of London, as if urban London provided the new template even for a kind of mock-pastoral retreat.

Osborne herself was a regular visitor to London during the course of her letter exchange with Temple, and she thus knew very well the world of the town. She certainly was a visitor to the New Spring Garden, at the northeast corner of St. James Park (now the site of the Old Admiralty buildings):

To show how absolutely I am governed I need but tell you that I am every night in the park and at new spring garden where though I come with a mask I cannot scape being knowne nor my conversation being admired; are not you in some fear what will become on mee [?] these are dangerous Courses. (198)

The complaint about her governance is ironic. Osborne has at least partial run of the town, including nightly visits to Spring Garden, where it is clear that a game of anonymous and semianonymous courtship is an exciting part of the attraction of the place. The letters do suggest the closely monitored nature of much of Osborne's time in London, but freedom and anonymity were certainly also part of the experience, and probably also account for the attempts to monitor and chaperone a young lady's activities.²¹ The relative

freedoms and pleasures of London find their way into a correspondence in which the exchange between town and country—the letters generally from the Osborne’s estate in Bedfordshire and Mrs. Painter in Covent Garden, where Temple would pick up the letters—is also a consistent exchange of literary opinion and gossip, “the voices of people talking,” as Woolf put it in the passage cited earlier in this chapter. The “effect” of talking, of course, is itself a literary one, and it is Osborne’s special genius as a letter writer—the effect that she seems to have pioneered—but it also depends on the geographic imaginary of town and country. The intimate letter, that is, fully enters English literary history at the moment when it becomes the instrument of a town and country exchange between members of a self-conscious literary public.

TOWN AND COURT

Although Osborne’s letters reveal a town and country cultural network during the Interregnum, the most striking thing about the period after the Restoration is the town’s attempt to cover over its very clear ties to the world of the landed gentry. This undoubtedly reflects the new critical mass of the gentry’s presence in London, and the increasing wealth that improved its means of residing there longer. In the characteristic Restoration comedy of the period, the fashionable man about town tries to forget his clownish country cousin.²² The simultaneous flooding of English culture with French terms and points of reference suggests that the culture of the town in the Restoration was an attempt to approximate the cultural model of *la cour et la ville*, which many English royalists had experienced directly during exile in France. The cultural masking of the economic power of the country made possible the formalization of the elements of the town into an apparently autonomous cultural system.

At this point, the town comes into clearer focus, alongside a vastly increased interest in the cultural geography of London more generally. Writing after the end of the plague (and before the Great Fire), Samuel Pepys notes the return of many to the “town,” by which he means all of London. But he then goes on to modify this locution in a fashion suggesting that he associates the Westminster and the Covent Garden area with the court and gentry. The “City-end” refers specifically to the City of London:

And a delightful thing it is to see the town full of people again, as now it is, and shops begin to open, though in many places, seven or eight together, and more, all shut; but yet the town is full compared with what it used to be—I mean the City-end, for Covent Gu[a]rden and Westminster are yet very empty of people, no Court nor gentry being there.²³

Soon, moreover, “town” would metonymically refer to those who *mattered* in London, and they were not for the most part those who lived in the

City. Covent Garden, more than even the court itself, was the geographic and cultural center of the town in this sense. Pepys had earlier registered the cultural prestige of Covent Garden, which is nicely conjoined with his viewing of Dryden in the “great Coffee-house” in Covent Garden, probably Will’s, one of the literary landmarks of Restoration London:

In Covent-garden tonight, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house there, where I never was before—where Draydon the poet (I knew at Cambridge) and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player and Mr. Hoole of our college; and had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there I perceive is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry and it was late; they were all ready to go away.²⁴

Many of Pepys’s references to coffeehouses, particularly the one he frequented near the Naval offices at Seething Lane, reflect the Habermasian picture of a literary public in formation around the coffeehouse as a venue for new kinds of interaction, including literary and philosophical discussions.²⁵ The diary entry concerning seeing Dryden at Covent Garden, on the other hand, introduces the problem of emulation, generally more distant from Habermas’s formulations, which tend to emphasize the ways in which the new public sphere was in the process of shedding some of the ossified hierarchies of courtly discourse. Pepys is clearly attracted to the cultural prestige of the “wits of the town.” In fact, his own references to coffeehouse conversations become especially prominent after seeing Dryden at Will’s.²⁶

Such emulation must be balanced, however, against the very strong sense, pervasive in Dryden’s work, that a literary public located in the town effectively creates an elite but leveled space of critical conversation that can include both educated professional writers and the wits of the court. Harold Love nicely summarizes the centrality of the theater for this period as the “town senate” and the lessons that Dryden wishes to expound in his prologues and epilogues as “the new sociability of the Town—witty, ironic, companionable, and unhierarchical (in the sense that no one is beyond judgment).”²⁷ Dryden’s preface to *The Wild Gallant*, published in 1669, impartially submitted the play to the town’s authority: “It would be a great Impudence in Me to say much of a *Comedy*, which has had but indifferent success in the action. I made the Town my Judges; and the greater part condemn’d it.”²⁸

An Essay of Dramatick Poesie (1668) makes clear the new centrality of the town as the site of the literary public. Writing in enforced absence from London during the plague, according to his own account, Dryden staged a kind of dramatic dialogue (and the theatrical terms of the piece are consciously chosen by Dryden) whose setting is a voyage on the Thames during the Battle of Lowestoft (June 1665).²⁹ If the dialogue is entirely on the water, the narrative does not ever forget its origins—and conclusion—in

the town. The noise of the battle reaches the city, and “every one went following the sound as his fancy led him; and leaving the Town almost empty, some took towards the Park, some cross the River, others down it; all seeking the noise in the depth of silence” (XVII: 8). The four men in the boat, then, are a kind of distillation of the critical positions available in the emptied town, to which they return together, at least as far as the “Piazzè” (Covent Garden) at the conclusion of the dialogue. Whatever their disagreements about the status of rhyme in drama, they certainly agree about the provenance of failed wit: republican radicals and the City. Bad versification comes from “a very Leveller in Poetry,” and Eugenius can proceed to compare such poets to “the very *Withers* of the City: they have bought more Editions of his Works then would serve to lay under all their Pies at the Lord Mayor’s *Christmass*” (XVII: 11–12).

But the real focus of the *Essay* is drama and the role of both French and classical models in shaping English accomplishments in the theater as the focal interest of a developing literary public. Dryden produces, through Neander, the extended “examen” (borrowing from Corneille’s practice in his 1660 edition of his plays) of Jonson’s *Epicene* as the most appropriate English model for comedy. Bypassing court culture, Dryden takes Jonson as a model for conversation in what is really a republic of wit located socially in the town:

[Jonson] has here describ’d the conversation of Gentlemen in the persons of *True-wit*, and his Friends, with more gayety, ayre and freedom, then in the rest of his Comedies. . . . The persons are onely of common rank, and their business private, not elevated by passions or high concernments as in serious Playes. Here every one is a proper Judge of all he sees; nothing is represented but that with which he daily converses: so that by consequence all faults lie open to discovery, and few are pardonable. (VIII: 61–62)³⁰

The best comedy reflects a model of an ideal literary public, “proper Judges” all, back to the actual audience in the theater judging the same play, producing the feedback loop of the early modern literary public.

Marriage à la Mode (c. 1671, published 1673) approaches the town from a comic angle, but one equally attuned to its geographic and social coordinates. In the character of the “affected lady,” Melantha, Dryden fully exploits the preoccupations of town while simultaneously satirizing the elements of society that seek to rise into the world of the court. As Rhodophil amusedly says of his mistress, “But my Mistris has one fault that’s almost unpardonable: for, being a Town-Lady, without any relation to the Court, yet she thinks herself undone, if she be not seen there three or four times a day, with the Princess *Amalthea*” (1.1.181–184). As in *la cour et la ville*, the positive virtue intended by the satire is that of “knowing oneself” and one’s place.³¹

Despite this, the play knows that its world is one constant circuit of social climbing and condescension. The country is the least of the social locations of privilege mapped by the social comedy, and Doralice makes this the subject of a disquisition:

Your little Courtiers wife, who speaks to the King but once a moneth, need but go to a Town-Lady, and there she may vapour, and cry, *The King and I*, at every word. Your Town-Lady, who is laugh'd at in the Circle, takes her Coach into the City, and there she's call'd your Honour, and has a Banquet from the Merchants Wife, whom she laughs at for her kindness. And, as for my financial Cit, she removes but to her Countrey-house, and there insults over the Countrey Gentlewoman that never comes up; who treats her with Frumity and Custard, and opens her dear bottle of *Mirabilis* beside, for a Jill-glass of it at parting. (3.1.154–164)

Artemis, the court lady, comments that Doralice has produced a description of “Town and Countrey” (3.1.166). There is no question here of the status of the country rustics, nor of the city apprentices. Both are entirely absent, and the country gentleman without long-term residence in London comes to fill the place of the rustic “clowns” of earlier theater.

The main plot, on the other hand, simultaneously enacts an older tragicomic pattern, in which the true prince and his lover (the daughter of the reigning usurper) discover their love in a setting of country pastimes that borrows from the story of Perdita and Florizel in *The Winter's Tale* (the Sicilian setting of the play also testifies to the specific influence of Shakespeare's play). This plot maintains a pastoralized aristocratic myth: aristocrats whose love is refreshed from below, by association with the country festivities and pastimes. Shakespearean inclusiveness, however, seems like a relatively empty gesture in the play. The comic satire of the double plot, highlighted by the play's title, was Dryden's major innovation, and this is the plot that held the stage.³²

TOWN AND COUNTRY AFTER THE COURT

By the time of William Congreve's great play *The Way of the World* (1700), the status of the town was once more reconfigured. The Glorious Revolution was followed by the withering away of the court's role in setting the tone for the town; the town itself, on the other hand, lost none of its allure, and the West End grew dramatically, and attracted the gentry for longer stays in the years after the Glorious Revolution.³³ Along with the cultural obsolescence of the court came the theatrical waning of tragicomic romance that had still anchored *Marriage à la Mode*. In its place, Congreve experiments with a town society that appears to be grinding its way

through a variety of untenable options for setting its cultural bearings. Millimant, the romantic heroine as well as the exemplar of literary taste in the play, expresses the usual disgust for the country, and by extension for her feigned suitor from the country, Sir Wilful Witwoud: "I Nauseate waking; 'tis a Country diversion, I loath the Country and every thing that relates to it."³⁴ Something more, however, is at stake in this statement, since Millimant immediately proceeds to overplay her hand: "*Ah l'etourdi!* I hate the Town too" (4.1.126). If Millimant might temporarily experience the double alienation from both town and country, it is perhaps an excess of affectation, reminding us for a moment of Dryden's *Melantha*. Both she and her lover, Mirabell, clearly belong to the town, as the long pseudo-contractual arrangement of the "articles" of their marriage in the same scene makes abundantly clear. Mirabell, however, alters the understanding of the relationship between town and country that had characterized the period before the Glorious Revolution. Fainall, Mirabell's enemy, is a classic Restoration rake, but one no longer allowed to rule supreme over the social landscape. Mirabell never abandons the town, but he incorporates the rustic country cousin, Sir Wilful, into his schemes, which are themselves still clearly derived from the plots of Jonsonian city comedy. The cultural denigration of Sir Wilful early in the play consistently aligns him with the world of popular entertainments. "In the Name of *Bartlemew* and his Fair, what have we here" (3.1.436–437), exclaims his brother, Witwoud, the fop, at his first entry. At the moment of his apparent triumph, Fainall can dismiss Sir Wilful's threats with the contemptuous reminder of Sir Wilful's outmoded cultural affiliations: "You may draw your *Fox* if you please Sir, and make a *Bear-Garden* flourish somewhere else; For here it will not avail" (5.1.439–441). Fainall's triumph is, however, reversed when Mirabell produces the conveyance that secures his own plans and also reveals Sir Wilful as a willing conspirator against Fainall. Fainall makes an attempt against Mrs. Fainall, but he is prevented and Sir Wilful can add, "Hold Sir, now you may make your *Bear-Garden* flourish somewhere else Sir" (5.1.558–559). Fainall, the rake, surrenders his prestige to Sir Wilful, the gentleman bumpkin. In effect, Mirabell and Sir Wilful enact a new alliance between town and country appropriate to the changed conditions of the world after the Glorious Revolution.

That alliance of town and country survives in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator*, despite the general sense that the papers are exclusively about London. Addison himself signaled the central importance of the town in constituting the literary public of *The Spectator*; his canonical statement of the aims of his journalism is "to have it said of me, that I have brought Philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables, and in Coffee-Houses."³⁵ London certainly possessed no monopoly on any of these forms, and assembly rooms, clubs, pleasure gardens and other versions of the London life dotted provincial English towns in the eighteenth century, as Peter

Borsay has amply demonstrated.³⁶ Still, this is the world of the town, one in which provincial forms self-consciously emulated London models, a process which the widely distributed and closely followed *Spectator* papers themselves facilitated. The title of John Brewer's account of a London-centered public culture in the eighteenth century bears its own testimony to the continuing association of Addison and Steele with the triumph of urbanity: *The Pleasures of the Imagination* borrowed from Addison's landmark essays on the subject.³⁷

If the centrality of London remains largely unquestioned in *The Spectator*, Sir Roger de Coverley's prominence throughout the papers allows for the clear but understated role of a town and country sensibility in the new form of the literary public. With the exception of Mr. Spectator himself, de Coverley is the most completely developed character in the entire series. He occupies, moreover, pride of place in the elaboration of the members of the Club, Mr. Spectator's base of operations, in the second number of *Spectator*. Sir Roger is the first member to be introduced, which in itself could be little more than a kind of honorific that applied to the ranking member of the Club: "the first of our Society" (no. 2, Friday, March 2, 1711, I:7). *The Spectator* does not develop any character to outrank Sir Roger although the court would certainly afford such types. The choice here is to remain clearly below and beyond the court society. Sir Roger's status, however, does not fully explain his prominence in the subsequent papers, to the relative neglect of the other six members of the Club. The other members of the Club represent various aspects of the town that *The Spectator* has other means to explore. Sir Roger will not fade quite so easily into the background because almost the entire burden of the country falls on his shoulders.

Mr. Spectator introduces himself in the initial installment as someone clearly of the town—but with his own connections to the land: "I was born to a small Hereditary Estate, which, according to the Tradition of the Village where it lies, was bounded by the same Hedges and Ditches in *William* the Conqueror's Time that it is at present, and has been delivered down from Father to Son whole and entire, without Loss or Acquisition of a single Field or Meadow, during the Space of six hundred Years" (no. 1, Thursday, March 1, 1711, I:1–2). If London and the town is the site of continuous change, the Spectator himself retains something of his base in the traditional landed world of the English countryside. (Not *too* much land: Mr. Spectator is careful to set an example of small-scale holdings in order to maximize his ability to represent the potential readership of *The Spectator*.) Sir Roger, therefore, is not exactly a counterweight to the town that regulates so much of *The Spectator*; the country squire represents something more integral to the representation of the town throughout the papers: more "countrified" than Mr. Spectator, certainly, and also of clearly greater means, but also on the same spectrum of town and country as Mr. Spectator himself.

The second number of *The Spectator*, written by Steele, provides the most extended discussion of the background of Sir Roger, including the somewhat surprising revelation that he had once belonged, even if temporarily, to the bygone world of the town rakes of the 1670s:

When he is in Town he lives in *Soho-Square*. It is said he keeps himself a Batchelour by reason he was crossed in Love, by a perverse Widow of the next County to him. Before this Disappointment, Sir Roger was what you call a fine Gentleman, had often supped with my Lord *Rochester* and Sir *George Etherege*, fought a Duel upon his first coming to Town, and kick'd Bully *Dawson* in a publick Coffee-house for calling him Youngster. But being ill used by the abovementioned Widow, he was very serious for a Year and a half; and tho' his Temper being naturally jovial, he at last got over it, he grew careless of himself and never dressed afterwards; he continues to wear a Coat and Doublet of the same Cut that were in Fashion at the Time of his Repulse, which, in his merry Humours, he tells us, has been in and out twelve Times since he first wore it. (no. 2, Friday, March 2, 1711, I:8)

Steele's initial characterization of Sir Roger emphasizes his town connections, simultaneously locating him in the still fashionable and wealthy Soho Square, which had replaced Covent Garden as the most desirable residence in London, and providing him with a personal history that underlines just how out-of-date he really is: the counterintuitive association of Sir Roger with the Restoration rakes. It is not surprising that Sir Roger is old fashioned; this is exactly the function of the country squire, certainly in Addison's papers on Sir Roger in the country. What is striking is Steele's association of the old-fashioned squire with the now-antiquated figure of the libertine, since the characteristic discourse of the rake had emphasized his distance from any association with the country. Both types, however, are now leveled in their antiquity—and rendered equally available to a new cultural synthesis. In Steele's handling, Sir Roger first looks like a figure designed to condense a series of associations with the past, as opposed to the polite world of contemporary London: in effect, Congreve's Sir Wilful with a touch of Fainall thrown in. Sir Roger, however, betrays very little of this past history as a libertine in the subsequent papers; he is more generally a figure for provincial naïveté as well as the sturdy virtues of the country, especially in Addison's handling of him.

If Addison's papers on Sir Roger treat him with a mixture of deference and condescension, Sir Roger is not excluded from the literary public that Mr. Spectator describes. When Mr. Spectator goes to the theater with Sir Roger in order to see Ambrose Philips's *The Distressed Mother*, a revision of Racine's *Andromaque* supported by Addison, it is certainly clear that Sir Roger is a relatively uncultured viewer of the spectacle; he has not seen a play in more than twenty years, he tells Mr. Spectator. He is unfamiliar

with the story, and much of his attention is taken up by Andromache's status as a widow, painfully reminding him of his own failure to win his own beloved widow. But, if Sir Roger lacks sophistication as a viewer, his naïveté about theatrical language identifies something about the play that Addison wishes to endorse: "But pray, says he, you that are a Critick, is this Play according to your Dramatick Rules, as you call them? Should your People in Tragedy always talk to be understood? Why, there is not a single Sentence in this Play, that I do not know the Meaning of" (no. 335, Tuesday, March 25, 1712, III:241). In effect, Sir Roger strikes on the crucial point: that the new form of tragedy endorsed by *The Spectator* will be linguistically and conceptually accessible to a wider audience. The exemplar of landed privilege becomes the figure of an expanded cultural franchise, the proto-Johnsonian "common reader"—although the reader significantly remains a theatergoer in this account. Addison's use of Sir Roger here synthesizes High and Low, making Addison's own cultural program into something more than the civilizing and urbanizing one described by recent historians such as Borsay and Brewer: "urban propaganda," in the words of Borsay.³⁸ In fact, it is a cultural synthesis that relies on the venerable association of the rustic squire with the people, an alliance that can be traced back to Brome's *A Jovial Crew* or even Shakespeare's Falstaff and Toby Belch.

Congreve and the *Spectator* papers replaced the myth of aristocratic romance, the alliance of the monarch with his people, with the different one of the squire as one of the people. Behind this rejoinder to the world of the court and town that had seemed to dominate the Restoration lay the full weight of the squirearchy that was confirmed as a dominant political force after the Glorious Revolution. Congreve and *The Spectator* fitted the literary public to these new circumstances: a town and country literary public that, not unlike the constitutional settlement produced by the Glorious Revolution, proved to be a durable cultural "settlement" in England. In the course of little more than a century, the center of gravity in English culture had moved from an unstable alliance of court and city to a new formation of town and country that was more completely independent of the court than the French literary public of the same era. This cultural settlement was, at least partly, worked out in the theaters of London as well as in the literary criticism that had emerged by the end of the seventeenth century. The centrality of the theater to this history complicates Habermas's more familiar picture of the literary public sphere emerging in the family, coffeehouse and salon. "Literary London" in the seventeenth century cannot be separated from theatrical London, something that it shares with the Parisian literary public analyzed by Auerbach. Its geographic imaginary was grounded in the increasingly diversified spaces of London, above all the growing West End, rather than courtly spectacle or pastoral idyll. The literary public claimed at least some of these spaces as its own, and in terms that remain recognizable to our own conception of a literary public: the

“stir and quiver” of people talking that Woolf recognized in those “places between the great books.”

NOTES

1. Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); the German edition was published in 1958. Jan Ziolkowski's foreword to the English edition usefully situates Auerbach's work on the literary public as the elaboration of some of the central concerns of *Mimesis*.
2. Erich Auerbach, “La Cour et la Ville,” trans. Ralph Mannheim, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 179; originally published in German, 1933.
3. Steven Mullaney, “What's Hamlet to Habermas? Spatial Literacy, Theatrical Publication, and the Publics of the Early Modern Public Stage,” this volume. We know from Habermas's footnotes that he had read Auerbach. He quotes Auerbach on an early instance in which “public” was used in French to refer to a theatrical audience, and he also refers to *spectateurs* and *auditeurs* as forms of the French public (*The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989], 31 and n. 4, p. 256). Despite this clear understanding of the implications of Auerbach's work, Habermas remains largely indifferent to the theatrical context of so much literary exchange in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
4. Raymond Williams, whose book *The Country and the City* (1973) is the best single account of the relationship between the rural and the urban in English literature, gives the title “Town and Country” to his chapter on the Restoration stage, but he is also clearly disgusted by the masking of real social relations, in particular the oppression of the rural poor, which he associates with the term “country” (*The Country and the City* [Frogmore, Hertfordshire: Paladin, 1975], 61–71).
5. Virginia Woolf, *The Common Reader: Second Series* (London: Hogarth Press, 1932), 59.
6. See Theodore Miles, “Place-Realism in a Group of Caroline Plays,” *The Review of English Studies* 18, no. 72 (1942): 428–440; Cynthia Wall, *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
7. Janette Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City, 1595–1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
8. See in particular the work of Robert Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,” in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. T.H. Aston and C.H.E. Philpin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 10–63; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflicts, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
9. “A shrewd foreigner remarked [of] the headlong plunge downhill of the Crown finances, that the Stuarts were on the way to be overshadowed in wealth by their subjects before they were overthrown by them.” R.H. Tawney, “The Rise of the Gentry,” *The Economic History Review* 11, no. 1 (1941): 24.
10. See the landmark essay by F.J. Fisher, “The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth

- Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 30 (1948): 37–50; reprinted in *Essays in Economic History*, vol. 2, ed. E.M. Carus-Wilson (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), 197–207. Also, Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 547–586; Malcolm Smuts, "The Court and Its Neighbourhood: Royal Policy and Urban Growth in the Early Stuart West End," *The Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 2 (April 1991): 127–149.
11. *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. G.A. Wilkes, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 1.1.66; cited by Dillon, *Theatre*, 124. Further citations refer to this edition.
 12. Emrys Jones, "The First West End Comedy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1982): 252.
 13. Dillon, *Theatre*, 124–136; Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 84–91.
 14. In France, and somewhat later, a similar set of terms: Corneille's "*La galerie du palais* is also an allegory of the commodification of literature itself, in which consumerism is gender specific: women shop for fashionable ribbons, lace and collars while men seek out the books that display their taste and distinguish them from common readers" (Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, 99).
 15. Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 141. Butler, however, also insists that the presence of the gentry in London before the Civil War remained minimal by comparison to the Restoration (109–110, 294–299).
 16. "The theatres were neutral zones, independent of the court, where the gentry gathered casually, but also on a regular basis and with interests that were widely shared, and where ideas and attitudes were actively exchanged. They were both public settings and areas of unrivalled personal interchange, environments where manners and *mores* could be determined and established on a communal level" (Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, 110).
 17. *The Autobiography of Anne Lady Halkett*, ed. John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, n. s. 13, 1875), 3.
 18. Margaret Cavendish, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle to Which Is Added the True Relation of My Birth Breeding and Life*, 2nd ed., ed. C.H. Firth (London, [1906]), 160.
 19. Butler's analysis of this aspect of the play is particularly strong (*Theatre and Crisis*, 269–279).
 20. *Dorothy Osborne: Letters to Sir William Temple, 1652–54: Observations on Love, Literature, Politics and Religion*, ed. Kenneth Parker (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), 105.
 21. See James How on the general conditions of Osborne's stays in London (*Epistolary Spaces: English Letter Writing from the Foundation of the Post Office to Richardson's Clarissa* [Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003], 38–41).
 22. Raymond Williams, however, forcefully reminds us that "what happens in the town is generated by the needs of the dominant rural class" (*The Country and the City*, 69).
 23. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 8:3 (January 5, 1666).
 24. *Ibid.*, 8:3 (January 5, 1666), 5:37 (February 3, 1664).
 25. See Brian Cowan, "English Coffeehouses and French Salons: Rethinking Habermas, Gender and Sociability in Early Modern French and British Historiography," this volume.
 26. See Pepys, *Diary*, 5:27–29, 108, 123.
 27. Harold Love, "Dryden, Rochester, and the Invention of the 'Town,'" in *John Dryden (1631–1700): His Politics, His Plays, and His Poets*, ed. Claude

- Rawson and Aaron Santesso (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 36–51, esp. 40–41.
28. Edward Niles Hooker, gen. ed., *The Works of John Dryden*, 20 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956–2000), 8:3. Further citations of Dryden refer to this edition.
 29. For Dryden's consistent theatricalization of criticism, see Marcie Frank, *Gender, Theatre, and the Origins of Criticism from Dryden to Manley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 30. Compare Jones on Jonson: "The political courtly element is simply removed, leaving the play's power-system one involving more or less equal citizens. . . . The effect is to focus attention on to purely social pressures" ("The First West End Comedy," 249).
 31. Auerbach, "La cour et la ville," 165.
 32. Brian Corman remarks that Colley Cibber's *The Comical Lovers; or, Marriage-A-la-Mode* (1707) revived Dryden's comic plot and combined it with the comic plot of Dryden's *Secret Love*, "a tribute to the staying power of Dryden's comic plot—and the absence of a similar staying power in his heroic plot" (J. Douglas Canfield, gen. ed., *The Broadview Anthology of Restoration & Eighteenth-Century Drama* [Peterborough, Ontario: 2003], 43).
 33. See James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650–1750* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 215–252.
 34. *The Complete Plays of William Congreve*, ed. Herbert Davis (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 4.1.121–122. Further citations refer to this edition.
 35. *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), no. 10 (March 12, 1711), 1:10. Further citations refer to this edition.
 36. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).
 37. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), esp. 3–55.
 38. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, 263.

Part III

The Potential of the Private

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10 Negotiating the “*Forum Politicum*” and the “*Forum Conscientiae*”

John Calvin and the Religious Origins of the Modern Public Sphere

Torrance Kirby

The conspicuous growth of a popular “culture of persuasion” fostered by the Protestant Reformation contributed in no small part to the genesis of the early modern public sphere.¹ This chapter aims to draw closer attention to changes in religious assumptions, specifically through an exploration of the theological anthropology of John Calvin, in order to investigate an overlooked source of explanation for Jürgen Habermas’s well-known account of the structural transformation of the public sphere. By the end of the sixteenth century, and largely owing to this cultural shift, the “moral ontology” which defined religious identity had come to be radically transformed for both the evangelical avant-garde and the Catholic reformers newly energized by the Council of Trent.² While at a certain level the distinction between the primary ontological orders of the divine and the human—between eternal and temporal planes of reality, soul and body, grace and nature, immortality and mortality—was jointly affirmed by both Protestant reformers and Catholic defenders of traditional religious identity, the impulse toward comprehensive reformation of the doctrine and practice of the church as well as the reinterpretation of the principles underlying secular political life was based upon a deep-seated theological difference about how to interpret the precise disposition of this ontological distinction.

For those who embraced evangelical reform, religious identity was no longer held to be a matter cosmologically given or assumed as embedded within the hierarchically ordered institutions and elaborate theurgical apparatus of late medieval sacramental culture which, for more than a millennium, had served to mediate between individual Christians and the divine. In sharp contrast with the traditional hierarchical and sacramental model based upon the ontological assumption of a gradual mediation or *dispositio* of reality whereby the orders of nature and grace, mortal and immortal being, body and spirit were linked together in a continuous and contiguous cosmic whole, the sixteenth-century Protestant reformers insisted on a sharply defined hypostatic demarcation between the inner, subjective space of the individual believer and the external, public space of Christian institutional life, whether ecclesiastical, sacramental or political.³ One of the momentous consequences of this revolution in “moral ontology”

was the abrupt displacement of the hierarchical mediation offered by the intricate structures of late medieval sacramental culture, achieved largely through the instruments of *persuasion*—that is, by means of argument, textual interpretation, exhortation, reasoned opinion and moral advice—disseminated through both pulpit and press.⁴ This alternative culture of persuasion, together with the secularizing process of disenchantment that it came to embody, presupposes a radically different conception of ontological mediation between the primary orders of reality.⁵ This Weberian theme thus underpins the gradual transformation from a ritually grounded “representative publicity” in the direction of what eventually takes shape as a recognizably modern, secular public sphere.

In his *Institutio*, Calvin formulates with unmatched clarity the theological first principles which underlie the inception and development of the early modern culture of persuasion.⁶ In his rightly famous definition of Christian liberty in Book 3, Chapter 19, Calvin articulates the principle of this new moral ontology—what one might even risk identifying as the ontology of classical modernity—with his careful (one is tempted to say Cartesian) distinction between the “spiritual” government of the forum of the conscience (*forum conscientiae*) and the “civil” government of the external, political forum (*forum externum*).⁷ This distinction is the foundation of Calvin’s account of the so-called *duplex gubernatio*: “in man government is twofold.” That government “by which the conscience is trained to piety and divine worship” he calls a “spiritual kingdom” (*regnum spirituale*), while in sharp contradistinction, he defines the “political kingdom” (*regnum politicum*) as that “by which the individual is instructed in those duties which, as men and citizens, we are bold to perform.”⁸ A forensic distinction between the realm of the conscience and an external, political realm is traceable back several centuries before Calvin. In Dante’s *Paradiso*, Thomas Aquinas introduces the Florentine to one of the shining lights in the heaven of the Sun, the great twelfth-century canon lawyer of Bologna: “Next flames the light of Gratian’s smile, who taught / In either forum, and in both gives pleasure / To Paradise, by the good work he wrought.”⁹ While this allusion to the two *fora* might have puzzled the author of the *Decretum*, by the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it had become a commonplace of the Canon Law to distinguish between the outward forum of an external jurisdiction exercised in the ecclesiastical courts and the internal forum of spiritual jurisdiction in the practice of penance. The terms *forum poenitentiae* and *forum conscientiae* were virtually synonymous.¹⁰ Thomas Aquinas himself distinguishes between the external forum and the forum of the conscience in his *Commentary on the Sentences*.¹¹

According to the systematic structure of the argument of Calvin’s *Institute*, the precise character and full significance of the vast gap which distinguishes the two ontological realms associated with the *duplex gubernatio* only becomes fully apparent through a reflection upon the reformer’s pivotal soteriological claim concerning justification by faith alone in the series

of chapters immediately preceding the discussion of liberty, namely in Book 3, Chapters 1–18.¹² On the intimate connection of the first principles of reformed soteriology with this new moral ontology Calvin is categorical; he describes his exposition of the logic of the liberty of conscience in the terms of the *duplex gubernatio* as nothing less than “an appendage of justification.”¹³ Moreover, Calvin’s distinction regarding this twofold government provides the critical groundwork for his later discussion in Book 4 of what he terms the chief external means of grace, which comprise three principal components: first, the visible church, its jurisdiction, laws and powers; second, the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist; and third, civil government, a political theology which addresses the duties and authority of magistrates, the external necessity and moral utility of civil laws and the obligations of citizens to observe both. On two altogether decisive points Calvin is emphatically clear: first, the clear exposition of the nature of Christian liberty is “a thing of prime necessity, and apart from knowledge of it consciences dare undertake almost nothing without doubting”;¹⁴ and second, the soteriological principle upon which this liberty depends, namely justification by faith only, is itself by Calvin’s own account nothing less than “the main hinge on which religion turns.”¹⁵ For these two reasons, Calvin’s new moral ontology of the *duplex gubernatio*, and consequently his entire political theology, are anchored at the very core of his theological position.

While Calvin’s contribution to the foundations of modern politics has been the subject of extensive critical discussion for many years, as evidenced by an enormous and continually growing body of commentary,¹⁶ there are two particular aspects of his radical reformulation of moral ontology that stand in need of closer attention. First, Calvin’s treatment of the twofold government may help to elucidate the neglected but vitally important question of the religious and theological underpinnings of the emerging secular public sphere—a sphere marked above all else by its manifestation of what Andrew Pettegree has very helpfully designated the early modern culture of persuasion.¹⁷ Diversely manifest in print (for example, sermons, pamphlets and tracts, printed proclamations, parliamentary statutes) as well as in various other publicly staged productions (for example, the preaching of sermons, performances of plays, public trials and executions, formal disputations), all of which effectively combined in the middle years of the sixteenth century to fill an increasingly conspicuous void left by a progressive dismantling of the traditional, late medieval sacramental culture, the growth of this culture of persuasion finds its focused theological articulation in Calvin’s definition of Christian liberty. This definition provides an apt model for the interpretation of the moral ontology of the emerging redefinition of the public sphere. Briefly stated, for Calvin the public sphere is nothing less than the newfound and necessary means of mediating across the immense gulf that reformed soteriology was responsible for opening up between the two kingdoms, namely between the private,

inward realm of the individual self—Calvin’s *forum conscientiae*—and the public, outward realm of the common institutional order—Calvin’s *forum externum et politicum*. In this view, the public religious discourse of the Protestant reformers—specifically, religious persuasion through translation of the scriptures into the vernacular, biblical exegesis, preaching and moral exhortation, in short the promotion of “*fides ex auditu*”—presents an early exemplar, indeed arguably the archetype, of a uniquely early modern approach to negotiating the interaction between the inward spiritual life of the discreet and autonomous individual self and the outward collective requirements of the wider political community.¹⁸ In this respect, Calvin’s treatment of Christian liberty contributes to a radical rethinking of the relationship between private and public space and thus to a substantive reformulation of moral ontology, which would in turn give rise to the institutions of modern civil society.¹⁹

The second major point to be addressed in connection with Calvin’s theme of the *duplex gubernatio* concerns the useful light it sheds upon the sources of modern secularity. The secular as we have come to know it presents itself most frequently in opposition to religious concerns. By proposing a consideration of Calvin’s theology as counting among the significant sources of the political culture of modernity, it is clear that any simple dichotomy between the secular and the religious is bound to be highly suspect from the outset. On the contrary, it would appear to be self-evident on an attentive reading of Calvin that some of the significant sources of modern secularity derive primary meaning from a profoundly religious discourse. The secondary claim, then, is that this modern secularity is at root a theological orientation, whether or not it knows itself to be so. This is in part a reiteration of Taylor’s thesis in the opening chapters of *A Secular Age*.²⁰

It must be said, of course, that the general assertion of a connection of modernity with Protestantism in general and with Calvinism in particular is a commonplace, indeed “old hat,” so much so as to have become thoroughly unfashionable. The Whig historians, for example, who have been the target of relentless revisionist critique for more than a generation, were apt to point to Calvinism’s formative contribution to modernity, and especially to modern conceptions of political liberty.²¹ From the somewhat different perspective of German idealism, G.W.F. Hegel famously observed in his *Philosophy of History* that it was the Protestant world that had advanced to such a degree in its thinking as “to realize the absolute culmination of self-consciousness” and that this *was* the birth of modernity.²² Max Weber’s thesis of disenchantment, and the links between the Protestant ethic and modern capitalism to which he drew attention, tends in a similar direction.²³ None of these accounts, however, probe the depths of the deep theological groundwork implicit in their claims. John Witte, Sheldon Wolin and Quentin Skinner, to name some more recent critics, have addressed this question from diverse angles.²⁴ Skinner understands

modernity as the emergence of a purely secular politics liberated from what he plainly regards as the impediment of religion.²⁵ Charles Taylor, however, puts his finger on the critical problem when he pointedly remarks at the outset of *Sources of the Self* that the “moral sources of emerging modern identity are far richer than the impoverished language of modernity’s most zealous defenders,” and he goes on to add that the moral ontology behind any given set of views is more likely than not to remain largely implicit.²⁶ A critical element of this impoverishment of language is a neglect of the ontological, theological and metaphysical categories which, in Taylor’s view, constitute the groundwork for these sources of modern secular identity. Such has certainly been the case with Calvin’s contribution to the formulation of these questions surrounding the emergent culture of persuasion and the sources of an early modern conception of the secular. We propose that a prime focus for both of these questions ought to include a probing of the depth of their common theological foundations in Calvin’s discourse on Christian liberty.

CALVIN’S TWO GOVERNMENTS

To this end let us examine more closely the hinge which not only links the two orders of being but also ties together the theological and political dimensions of Calvin’s thought. Calvin was well aware of the potential for scandal in this delicate negotiation. The pivotal passage in the *Institutio* reads thus:

In order that none of us may stumble on that stone [that is, the relation of Christian freedom to the law] let us first consider that there is a twofold government (*duplex esse in homine regimen*) in man: one aspect is spiritual, whereby the conscience is instructed in piety and in reverencing God; the second is political, whereby man is educated for the duties of humanity and citizenship that must be maintained among men. These are usually called the “spiritual” and the “temporal” jurisdiction (not improper terms) by which is meant that the former sort of government pertains to the life of the soul, while the latter has to do with the concerns of the present life—not only with food and clothing but with laying down laws whereby a man may live his life among other men holily, honourably, and temperately. For the former resides in the inner mind, while the latter regulates only outward behaviour. The one we may call the spiritual kingdom (*regnum spirituale*), the other, the political kingdom (*regnum politicum*). Now these two, as we have divided them, must always be examined separately; and while one is being considered, we must call away and turn aside the mind from thinking about the other. There are in man, so to speak, two worlds, over which different kings and different laws have authority.²⁷

It should be observed that Calvin's thinking on the question of the twofold government has a significant development in terms of its systematic placement over the course of his multiple revisions of the *Institutio*.²⁸ In the final chapter of the original edition of 1536, this description of the distinction between two orders of governance is presented as an introduction to his discussion of civil and ecclesiastical government, the chief subject matter of what would become Book 4, which addressed the "external means of grace" in the much-expanded definitive version of the work published in 1559.²⁹ In this final edition there are a number of important invocations of the *duplex gubernatio* in Book 4, for example in the discussion of the legislative power and on the necessity of coercive civil government as one of the external means of grace.³⁰ In 4.10 of the 1559 edition Calvin identifies the two governments as belonging respectively to the forum of the conscience (*forum conscientiae*) and the external, political forum (*forum externum*).³¹ Nonetheless, Calvin places the principal definition of Christian freedom and the twofold government in the third book of the final edition, where the primary concern is psychological and soteriological, that is, where the focus is on the inner, subjective mode of obtaining the gifts of grace, rather than on the political and institutional forms per se.

It is clear from the 1559 edition that for Calvin it is insufficient simply to describe secular government as a negative consequence of human depravity. It is not only "owing to human perverseness that supreme power on earth is lodged in kings and other governors, but by Divine Providence, and the holy decree of Him to whom it has seemed good so to govern the affairs of men, since he is present, and also presides in enacting laws and exercising judicial equity."³² That Calvin regards secular government in a substantially more positive light than Augustine's "penalty and remedy for sin" (*poena et remedium peccati*)³³ ultimately derives theological justification from the deliberate systematic transposition of the principal exposition of Christian liberty and the *duplex gubernatio* into the midst of the discourse on soteriology in the earlier third part of the *Institutio*. In terms of this new placement, the distinction between the two modes of governance is given considerably deeper theological significance than the mere distinction between ecclesiastical and civil rule. In this fashion, Calvin transposes the customary institutional sense of the distinction between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction to the moral ontological plane. Whereas the forum of spiritual jurisdiction under the auspices of medieval canon law referred to the external ritualized procedure associated with the sacrament of penance, for Calvin penitence is radically internalized within the forum or realm of the individual Christian conscience. Conversely, both the spiritual and the temporal jurisdictions are construed as "the external means or aids by which God invites us into the society of Christ and holds us therein," that is to say through the government of the visible church and the commonwealth, which together constitute the *forum politicum*.³⁴ The radical internalizing of the forum of penitence in the conscience carries with it

the corollary of the profaning disenchantment of ecclesiastical functions. Moreover, the primary means of mediation between the inward space of individual conscience and the outward space of the communal, institutional life of the church are moral instruments of persuasion. In effect the public sphere appears in Calvin’s theology as none other than the condition of mediation between the two *fora*.

Calvin’s key claim in 3.19 that his consideration of freedom and the conscience is “an appendage of justification” alters dramatically the theological register of his account of the *duplex gubernatio*. According to his formulation of justification, the communication of grace to fallen humanity is interpreted as a twofold process:

We receive and possess by faith, Jesus Christ, as he is given to us by the goodness of God, and by participation in him we have a *double* grace (*duplex gratia*). The first is, that being reconciled to God by his innocence, instead of having a judge in heaven to condemn us, we very clearly have a Father there. The second is, that we are sanctified by his Spirit, to think upon holiness and innocence of life.³⁵

On this summary account of Reformation soteriology, the individual believer participates in two sharply distinguished kinds of righteousness; the primary mode is passive acceptance of the grace of God, and the derivative, secondary mode is active—namely, faith and works.³⁶ According to this account of grace, the believer dwells mystically in Christ by faith and is thus made completely righteous in the presence of God, “*coram Deo*.” At the same time, Christ dwells in the believer, who is dynamically and progressively sanctified by degrees in the world, in the presence of others, that is to say “*coram hominibus*.”³⁷ In his discussion of liberty and the conscience Calvin makes it clear that the twofold government derives from these two distinct places in the reformed account of the operation of grace through these two distinct modes and in keeping with their respective, radically distinct ontological frames of reference—a *duplex gubernatio* proceeding from a *duplex gratia*.³⁸ In the series of chapters immediately preceding his account of the *duplex gubernatio*, Calvin formally distinguishes these two soteriological modes as the perfect, passive, alien and consequently imputed grace of justification, on the one hand, and the gradual, dynamic, proper and therefore acquired grace of sanctification, on the other. These two modes of grace, while very intimately yoked together, both in their source and in their reception, must nonetheless be kept wholly and clearly distinct.³⁹ Failure to maintain the distinction between justification and sanctification is, for Calvin, tantamount to the complete overthrow of the foundation of religion, yet the ultimate unity of their source must nonetheless be upheld.

A critical consequence of this dialectical soteriology of the *duplex gratia* is the seeming paradox of the definition of Christian liberty as simultaneously

freedom from and subjection to the requirements of the law. In turn, this dialectical emphasis leads Calvin to assert simultaneously the most radical distinction between the temporal and spiritual orders *and* their intimate union—the paradox, in fact, which is the “potential stone of stumbling” to which he refers at the beginning of the critical passage.⁴⁰ As Ralph Hancock expresses this remarkable tension, “Calvin explodes any simple dichotomy between secular and religious concerns; he distinguishes radically between them, but precisely in order to join them fast together.”⁴¹ There is a twofold danger in this tension, namely the possibility of confusing the two orders by joining them too closely with one another, or alternatively, of supposing that that the two orders are antithetical. Thus for Calvin the moral ontological problem was how simultaneously to unite and yet maintain the distinction between the two forms of governance. It is in this distinctly *dialectical* sense, therefore, that the discourse of the twofold government is, as Calvin states, an “appendage of the discourse on justification.” And it is precisely on this link that the new moral ontology of a modern secularity depends.

Calvin’s dialectical treatment of the twofold government is thus very carefully constructed on the foundation of the principal modes of the “double grace.” Moreover, his approach to the simultaneous union of and distinction between the passive and active modes of grace, that is, faith and works, and his consequent formulation of the relation between the *forum conscientiae* and the *forum externum* both adhere to a normative dialectical paradigm of orthodox patristic Christology, one of the chief distinctive marks of Calvin’s theological method according to some scholars. According to this model, the conscience of the believer corresponds to the principle of hypostatic unity and identity while, at the same time, in this hypostatic unity of conscience the individual is bound to the heterogeneous obligations of two distinct jurisdictions, namely the temporal and the spiritual. “The former,” as he states, “has its seat within the soul,” while “the latter only regulates the external conduct.” The passage continues, “when the one is considered, we should call off our minds, and not allow them to think of the other.”⁴²

Calvin defines conscience as “a certain mean between God and man because it does not allow man to suppress within himself what he knows, but pursues him to the point of convicting him.”⁴³ Conscience both knows the demands of the law and recognizes the promise of liberty hidden behind those demands. According to Calvin’s moral ontology, to confuse the spiritual forum of the conscience with the external political forum has its soteriological analogue in the confusion of faith and works; cosmologically considered, such a confusion is to neglect to distinguish between this present fleeting mortal existence and the immortal condition of eternity, between body and soul; doctrinally it is to imply by consequent a confusion of the divine and the human natures, and thus to overturn the cornerstone of patristic orthodoxy. The question of conscience, of liberty and of the *duplex gubernatio* is thus elevated to the level of the most fundamental

doctrine. The logic of the moral ontology of the *duplex gubernatio* can thus be clearly discerned in Calvin’s paraphrase of the Christological formula established by the Council of Chalcedon in 451:

When it is said that the Word was made flesh, we must not understand it as if he were either changed into flesh, or confusedly intermingled with flesh, but that he made choice of the Virgin’s womb as a temple in which he might dwell. He who was the Son of God became the Son of man, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For we maintain, that the divinity was so conjoined and united with the humanity, that the entire properties of each nature remain entire, and yet the two natures constitute only one Christ. . . . Thus the Scriptures speak of Christ. They sometimes attribute to him qualities which should be referred specially to his humanity and sometimes qualities applicable peculiarly to his divinity, and sometimes qualities which embrace both natures, and do not apply specially to either. This combination of a twofold nature in Christ they express so carefully, that they sometimes communicate them with each other, a figure of speech which the ancients termed “*idiomaton koinonia*” (a communication of properties).⁴⁴

Eleven hundred years after this ecumenical council of the ancient Church, Calvin invoked this Christological model to lend support to the precarious dialectical task of simultaneously uniting and distinguishing the spiritual and the external orders of reality—the *forum conscientiae* and the *forum externum*—with their respective modes of governance:

These two [the spiritual and the civil kingdom] as we have divided them, are always to be viewed apart from each other. When the one is considered, we should call off our minds, and not allow them to think of the other. For there exists in man a kind of two worlds over which different kings and different laws can preside.⁴⁵

Yet—this qualifying conjunction is somehow characteristically Calvin’s—while there are two distinct orders of reality (or natures) they are nonetheless hypostatically united within each individual conscience; while the two modes of governance must be kept distinct, Calvin insists that they are by no means antithetical. Indeed Calvin insists that “we must know that they are not at variance.”⁴⁶

Calvin reveals the public sphere as ultimately an instrument for a public communication of idioms between the two realms without which the life of liberty would relapse into complete paralysis. Consequently, the distinction between the spiritual and the civil kingdoms “does not go so far as to justify us in supposing that the whole scheme of civil government is matter of pollution, with which Christian men have nothing to do.”⁴⁷ On the contrary, civil government is much more than a *remedium peccati*: “magistrates are

occupied not with profane affairs or those alien to a servant of God, but with a most holy office, since they are serving as God's deputies."⁴⁸ To deprive man of government is to deprive him of his very humanity. Civil government not only promotes peace and tranquility; it protects "the outward worship of God," the defense of sound doctrine and the promotion of civil righteousness. Moreover, as the structure of the argument of Book 4 of the *Institutio* shows, the external governance of the civil realm is understood by Calvin as yoked together with jurisdiction over the visible Church and the administration of the sacraments as one of three primary external instruments of the divine governance.

In summary, to return to our original question, does Calvin contribute substantively to the definition of a modern secular identity manifested in an emergent public sphere? It would seem that his sustained theological treatment of liberty and the conscience according to the model of the *duplex gubernatio* plays a highly significant, perhaps even decisive role in redefining the relation between the individual conscience and the external communal order. By this means Calvin effectively dismantles the traditional hierarchical model of a gradual mediation between the temporal and spiritual orders and their respective modes of governance as presupposed by the moral ontology of sacramental culture. By his dismissal of the primacy of a sacramental mediation by means of a cosmic *dispositio* in favor of distinguishing hypostatically between the orders of reality, Calvin pushes these orders into a radical distinction, yet he does so only to bind them ever more tightly together according to the soteriological and Christological models we have considered. Calvin's contribution to the definition of the moral ontology of an emerging secular modernity thus turns on the profundity of his theological analysis of the *duplex gubernatio*.

In sum, the displacement of sacramental culture, with its moral ontology of hierarchical mediation, by a culture of persuasion, with its alternative ontology sharply demarcating the inner subjective forum of the conscience and the external political forum of common, institutional life (both religious and civil), calls forth the public sphere as the new and necessary means of mediation, of bridging the distance between the two *fora*. Calvin's account of the *duplex gubernatio* helps to elucidate the vital role played by a public religious discourse in defining the new moral ontology of an emerging early modern civil society, and thus also serves to establish the terms of a uniquely early modern approach to negotiating the interaction between the conscience of the individual and the wider political community through the instrumentality of a structurally transformed public sphere.

NOTES

1. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 14–26.

2. The language of moral ontology as it is employed here is borrowed from Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1989] 2006), 5–8, 9, 10, 41, *passim*. According to Taylor, the concept of moral ontology refers to the essential objectivity of the deepest assumptions concerning human spiritual identity and our place within the cosmic order. In this respect the argument of *Sources of the Self* has been interpreted as an effort of metaphysical retrieval. See, for example, Fergus Kerr, “The Self and the Good: Taylor’s Moral Ontology,” in *Charles Taylor*, ed. Ruth Abbey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 84–104.
3. A classical formulation of the ontology of hierarchical *dispositio* is found in Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*. See *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. and ed. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 19.13: “The peace of the whole universe is the tranquillity of order—and order is the arrangement of things equal and unequal in a pattern which assigns to each is proper position.” For further discussion of the ontology of hierarchy see Torrance Kirby, *Richard Hooker, Reformer and Platonist* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 29–44.
4. See Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
5. On Max Weber’s concept of the secularizing process of disenchantment, see Charles Taylor’s introduction to Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, trans. Oscar Burge (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), ix ff. See also Taylor’s *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007). See also Peter Lassman and Irving Velody, “Max Weber on Science, Disenchantment, and the Search for Meaning,” in *Max Weber’s “Science as a Vocation,”* ed. Peter Lassman, Irving Velody, with Herminio Martins (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3–31, 159ff.
6. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), 3.19. This edition is cited throughout unless otherwise indicated.
7. See also *Institutes*, 4.10.3. Descartes’ distinction between *res cogitans* and *res extensa* in the *Meditations* displays an interesting parallel with Calvin’s account of the twofold government. René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy: With Selections from the Objections and Replies*, trans. and with an introduction and notes by Michael Moriarty (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 55, 128, 188.
8. *Institutes*, 3.19.15. See David Van Drunen, “The Two Kingdoms: A Reassessment of the Transformationist Calvin,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 40 (2005): 248–266. David Clyde Jones, “Ethics: The Christian Life and Good Works according to Calvin (3.6–10, 17–19),” in *A Theological Guide to Calvin’s Institutes: Essays and Analysis*, ed. David W. Hall and Peter A. Lillback (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Pub., 2008), 301–319.
9. Dante, *Paradiso*, 10.103–105 (“che l’uno e l’altro foro / aiutò sì che piace paradiso”).
10. Joseph Goering, “The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession,” in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 379–425. See also A. Mostaza, “*Forum internum—forum externum* (En torno a la naturaleza jurídica del fuero interno),” *Revista Española de derecho canonico* 23 (1967): 253–331, at 258, n. 15; 24 (1968): 339–364.

11. "Ad secundum dicendum, quod sacerdotes parochiales habent quidem jurisdictionem in subditos suos quantum ad forum conscientiae, sed non quantum ad forum judiciale; quia non possunt coram eis conveniri in causis contentiosis; et ideo excommunicare non possunt, sed absolvere possunt in foro poenitentiali; et quamvis forum poenitentialit sit dignius, tamen in foro judiciali major solemnitas requiritur; quia in eo oportet quod non solum Deo, sed etiam homini satisfiat." *Scriptum super Sententiis* 4.18.2.2.1 ad 2. Cited by Goering, "The Internal Forum," 380.
12. *Institutes*, 3.11.1–3.18.10.
13. *Ibid.*, 3.19.1.
14. *Ibid.*, 3.19.1.
15. *Ibid.*, 3.11.1, 3.11.7.
16. For a helpful critical overview of this extensive literature see Ralph C. Hancock, *Calvin and the Foundations of Modern Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 1–22. See also Douglas F. Kelly, *The Emergence of Liberty in the Modern World: The Influence of Calvin on Five Governments from the 16th through 18th Centuries* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Pub., 1992).
17. See Pettegree, chapter one, "The dynamics of Conversion," *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 1–9.
18. Lester De Koster, *Light for the City: Calvin's Preaching, Source of Life and Liberty* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub., 2004), 63–88. On the individual "irreducible self," see William R. Stevenson, Jr., *Sovereign Grace: The Place and Significance of Christian Freedom in John Calvin's Political Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11–58.
19. See the first chapter, "The Bulwarks of Belief," in Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 25–42.
20. See *A Secular Age*, Chapter 1, secs. 6 and 7, pp. 54–75.
21. See, for example, Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (New York: AMS Press, 1968); S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (London: Longmans, Green, 1894); W.K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England: From the Accession of James 1 to the Convention of the Long Parliament, 1603–1640* (London: Allen, 1936).
22. *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, trans. Henry Sibree (London: Henry Bohn, 1857), 463.
23. See the new translation by Stephen Kalberg of Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism with Other Writings on the Rise of the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also Friedrich W. Graf, "Calvin im Plural: zur Vielfalt moderner Calvin-Bilder" (plenary paper presented at the conference "Calvin et son Influence, 1509–2009," Geneva, May 24–27, 2009).
24. Sheldon S. Wolin, "Calvin and the Political Education of Protestantism," in *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), chap. 6; John Witte, Jr., *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
25. Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2, *The Reformation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
26. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 3, 7. Taylor argues that modernity "isn't just a story of loss, of subtraction." See *A Secular Age*, 26–29.
27. *Institutes*, 3.19.15; trans. Battles, 847.

28. Five Latin editions of the *Institutio Christianæ Religionis* were published in Calvin’s lifetime (1536, 1539, 1543, 1550 and 1559). The first French edition appeared in 1541, corresponding to his 1539 Latin edition. Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne* (1541), édition critique par Olivier Millet (Genève: Droz, 2008). Much like the influence of the Authorized Version of the Bible on Standard English, Calvin’s French translations of these Latin editions helped to shape the French language for generations. The final edition of the *Institutes* is about five times the length of the first edition.
29. *Christianæ religionis institutio: totam ferè pietatis summa[m], & quicquid est in doctrina salutis cognitu necessarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis studiosis lectu dignissimum opus, ac recens editum. Præfatio ad Christianissimum Regem Franciæ, qua hic ei liber pro confessione fidei offertur* (Basle: Thomas Platteru[m] & Balthasar Lasium, 1536), chap. 6. For an English translation, see *Institutes of the Christian Religion: 1536 Edition*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 178. For the second edition, see *Institutes of the Christian Religion of John Calvin, 1539: Text and Concordance*, ed. Richard F. Wevers (Grand Rapids, MI: Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, 1988).
30. See, for example, *Institutes*, 3.19.15, 4.10.3–6 and 4.20.1.
31. *Ibid.*, 4.10.3.
32. *Ibid.*, 4.20.4.
33. Augustine, *de civitate Dei*, xix.
34. See *Institutes*, 4.1–4.
35. *Ibid.*, 3.11.1.
36. In all essentials Calvin’s position on Justification is in agreement with Luther’s formulation of the doctrine in his famous sermon *Two Kinds of Righteousness* (1520). See M. Luther, *Two Kinds of Righteousness*, trans. Lowell J. Satre, in *Luther’s Works*, vol. 31, ed. H.J. Grimm (Philadelphia: Concordia Press, 1957), 293ff. See Martin Kolb, *Martin Luther: Confessor of the Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 64–68.
37. See Alistair McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 199. For a lucid explanation of Calvin’s appropriation of this soteriological dialectic, see François Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 237–242.
38. On the soteriological implications for Calvin’s treatment of conscience, see Randall C. Zachman, *The Assurance of Faith: Conscience in the Theology of Martin Luther and John Calvin* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 224–243, esp. 225–228.
39. *Institutes*, 3.11.11.
40. *Ibid.*, 3.19.15; trans. Battles, 847.
41. Hancock, *Calvin and the Foundations of Modern Politics*, xii.
42. Christo-centrism is judged by François Wendel to be the very hallmark of Calvin’s theology. See *Calvin*, 215–225. See also Paul Helm, *John Calvin’s Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 58–92; and E. David Willis, *Calvin’s Catholic Christology* (Leiden: Brill, 1969).
43. *Institutes*, 3.19.15.
44. *Ibid.*, 2.14.1. The Christological definition of Chalcedon reads as follows: “Following then the holy Fathers, we all unanimously teach that our Lord Jesus Christ is to us One and the same Son, the self-same Perfect in Godhead, the self-same Perfect in Manhood; truly God and truly Man; the self-same of a rational soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, the self-same consubstantial with us according to the Manhood; like us in all things, sin apart; before the ages begotten of the Father as to

the Godhead, but in the last days, the self-same, for us and for our salvation, born of Mary the Virgin, *Theotokos* as to the Manhood; acknowledged in Two Natures, unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the difference of the Natures being in no way removed because of the Union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved and both concurring into One *Prosopon* and One *Hypostasis* . . . one and the self-same Son and only begotten Word, Lord, Jesus Christ.” Phillipe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrorum conciliorum, nova et amplissima collectio* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960–61), tom. IV, col. 562.

45. *Institutes*, 3.19.15.

46. *Ibid.*, 4.20.2.

47. *Ibid.*, 4.20.2.

48. *Ibid.*, 4.20.6.

11 Painting the Visible Church

The Calvinist Art of Making Publics

Angela Vanhaelen

For seventeenth-century Calvinist church leaders, the visible church—the public gathering of worshipers in a church building—was an illusory event. Human eyes were easily deceived by the visible church. As one pastor lamented, “You can be a member of the Reformed church, . . . diligently perform spiritual practices—and still not have anything more than the appearance of godliness.”¹ No one could discern from mere outward demeanor if congregants were in fact true followers of Christ. True church, by contrast, is invisible. Situated in the hearts and minds of true believers living and dead, from all times and places, the genuine godliness of true church is perceived only by God. Earthly eyes cannot apprehend it; earthly minds cannot comprehend it. This chapter examines two seventeenth-century Dutch paintings that negotiate in different ways the peculiar artistic dilemma created by this set of beliefs. How could an artist make a painting of the visible church in a manner that did not contravene Calvinist convictions that the surface appearance of people and things—including painting itself—was no sure conduit to religious truth? Dutch artists seemed particularly eager to take up this challenge. “Nowhere in Europe,” the art historian P.T.A. Swillens asserted, “has the church interior been the object of so much interest as in the Netherlands.”² Numerous artists, including Pieter Saenredam, Gerard Houckgeest, Anthonie de Lorme and Emanuel de Witte, made a specialty of the austere Calvinist church interior, building international reputations and fetching high prices for these avidly collected paintings.³ The success of this imagery indicates widespread public interest in Reformed churches and their unadorned interiors. This interest in painting the visible church, I will argue, reveals a series of interdependent historical shifts as the lines between church, art and public life were redrawn in the Calvinist Dutch cities.

The first painting I examine (fig. 11.1) adheres to an orthodox and doctrinally correct view. Following from Torrance Kirby’s chapter in this volume, I argue that it pictures John Calvin’s principles of moral ontology: the gap between the inner forum of private individual conscience and the outer forum of ecclesiastical and political authorities is bridged by the persuasive words of the preacher and the watchful eyes of city magistrates raised above a congregation seated according to hierarchies of social rank. In other words, this painting depicts church as it should be. It imagines a Calvinist public

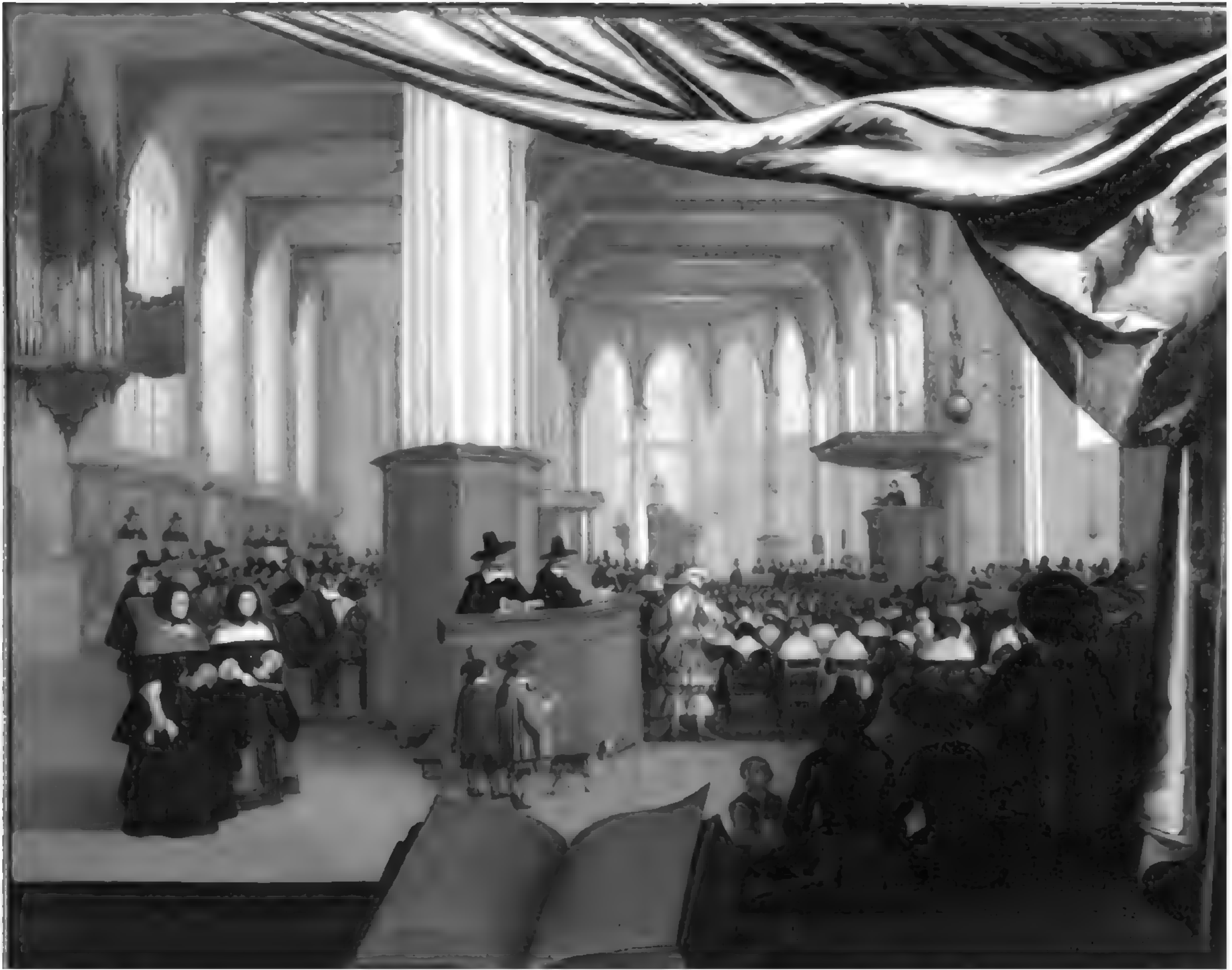


Figure 11.1 Anonymous, *Interior of the New Side's Chapel, Amsterdam, c. 1657*. Oil on canvas, 73 x 91 cm. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht / foto Ruben de Heer.

sphere in which private people and public authorities are unified through persuasion; successful communication of the Word of God brings them into coherence. The second painting (fig. 11.2), by contrast, shows church as it sometimes was: a contingent time-based happening that occurred when diverse people with potentially conflicting inner convictions came together in public space. This painting intimates that communication of the Word could fall on deaf ears, and that the private convictions of individual consciences could be at odds with the teachings and disciplines imposed by public authorities. While the orthodox painting (fig. 11.1) was probably commissioned by a church leader, the more ambiguous work (fig. 11.2) was sold on the open market. It did not necessarily target a Calvinist buyer; rather, its enigmatic qualities had the potential to engage a range of possible viewers, allowing them to critically interrogate some of the contradictions of the Dutch Republic's official public church, and, by extension, of public life itself. This open-ended painting, I argue, provides a glimpse of the emergence of a new notion of public life, one that resonates with modernity precisely because of the ways that it incorporates Calvinist understandings of the visible church as an inscrutable space where the hidden inner forum of a private person could resist the outer forum of ecclesiastical and political control; where outward appearance could be nothing more than a mask of social compliance; and where strangers, unbelievers and foreigners mingled with church members.



Figure 11.2 Emanuel de Witte, *Interior of the Old Church, Amsterdam*, c. 1660. Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 56.2 cm © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, New York.

By opening the visible church up to interrogation, the painting itself was a conversation piece; hung mainly in private collections, such works prompted viewers to debate their varying opinions about the religious and civic governance of the Dutch cities. Paintings of the visible church therefore had the potential to generate a transformation of the public sphere.

The commissioned painting, done by an anonymous artist in around 1657, shows the interior of the New Side's Chapel in Amsterdam (fig. 11.1).⁴ Hanging from painted brass rings seemingly affixed to the top of the canvas is an illusionistic curtain, pulled back to reveal an austere Gothic interior. The painted drape references actual picture curtains, hung in front of paintings to protect them from dust and sunlight. The illusionistic curtain was a motif often employed by Dutch artists to draw attention to the representational status of painting.⁵ Unveiling the deceptive pleasures of art, the self-reflexive realism of the fictive picture curtain vividly announces that this is not an actual church; it is a skillfully wrought painting of the visible church. In this way, the curtain both lauds and cautions against the illusory artifice of painting.

At the bottom of the painting is a large book; unclasped, it lies open on a wooden ledge. The pages are not legible, but the book's size and location indicate that it is most likely a Bible. Curtain and Book both function as threshold devices in this painting, providing entry into the space depicted while simultaneously setting it apart. Within the whitewashed unadorned interior, a worship service is in progress. The preacher in the pulpit addresses the orderly, attentive congregation that gathers to listen. The sermon, together with the Book at the frame, indicates that this is a Calvinist church, centered on the authority of the Word of God. When viewed from the threshold of the Book, the illusory image seems to take a secondary role. The painting becomes a vehicle to show how indoctrination of the congregation through the Bible ensured greater uniformity of belief than the ambiguous revelations of the holy images, relics and cult objects that had been cleansed from this Gothic chapel. The visual image takes up a new position vis-à-vis the church interior: it does not contribute to the holiness of the space and its rites, but pointedly negates the building's religious and material past. Although this painting is convincing as a relatively factual rendering of how the interior must have looked in the mid-seventeenth century, it simultaneously asserts the primacy of the Word and conveys Calvinist distrust of the visual. In order to create a new and credible history for the chapel, the painting must deny the sacred powers of the image while simultaneously asserting its descriptive truth claims.

The fact that this is Amsterdam's New Side's Chapel is particularly relevant in this regard. The Gothic building was erected in the fourteenth century to mark the site of the famed Amsterdam miracle.⁶ Called Heilige Stede, or Holy Place, it was Amsterdam's most sacred site, drawing large numbers of pilgrims. The chapel was given over to the use of the city's Reformed congregations after the Alteration of 1578, when Amsterdam officially declared itself a Calvinist city. Even in the mid-seventeenth century, however, the chapel retained a prominent place in Calvinist civic chronicles; its history was rewritten to emphasize the drawing power of the Holy Place, which helped to transform Amsterdam into a prosperous hub of global trade. As Olfert Dapper explained, "people, even those from far away places came together, not only for pilgrimage and prayer, but also they brought gold and riches here."⁷

The 1657 painting insistently works against the renowned sacred history of the New Side's Chapel; it shows the complete transformation of the Holy Place into a stark Reformed church interior purged of any visible reminders of its powerful past. Indeed, the painting reworks the very concept of church, which took on a series of new meanings in the post-Reformation Dutch cities. As Henri Lefebvre argues in *The Production of Space*, pre-Reformation Europe was a landscape of the sacred: "Consider the Church. . . . The fact is that the 'world'—that imaginary-real space of shadows—was inhabited, haunted by the Church. This underworld broke through here and there—wherever the Church had a 'seat.'"⁸ Late medieval space had hidden powers, and the Church provided multiple points of access to the divine. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these forces were eclipsed (but never

eliminated) by the order of what Lefebvre terms “abstract space.” In Lefebvre’s definition, abstract space denies previous histories and sacred powers. Conceived as an object, abstract space is linked more securely to *logos*, and thus to the institutional interests of Church and State, and to the logic of commerce. Consequently, the church was infiltrated with different relations of power: “Religious space did not disappear with the advent of commercial space; it was still—and indeed would long remain—the space of speech and knowledge. Alongside religious space, and even within it, there were places, there was room, for other spaces—for the space of exchange, for the space of power.”⁹ In the post-Reformation period, the very concept of church changed and took on a series of complex new meanings and functions.

The reformation of the Holy Place clearly participates in this larger redefinition of church. Dapper’s characterization of the chapel represses its miracle-working powers in order to highlight the interests of commerce. By renaming the building New Side’s Chapel, the Calvinists sought to deny the sacred history of the Holy Place, designating it as simply a worship place on the new side of the city. This attempt to neutralize was in fact a means of opening the site up to the appropriations of the new speech- and text-based religion. These buildings were not, after all, just bestowed upon the Calvinists; they were the spoils of war, secured through the ruthless use of political power, violence and force.¹⁰ Conquest of Roman Catholic sacred space was widely celebrated by the Calvinists as a providential sign of God’s favor. As one clergyman put it, “We can never thank the Lord sufficiently for opening so large a door to his holy Word everywhere, and especially in Holland.”¹¹ This blessing created conundrums, however, for the door opened by the Lord led into an architectural interior structured around the very theological practices and beliefs that the Calvinists were fighting to repress. In response to this challenge, Calvinists undertook the laborious process of refurbishment, employing various spatial strategies to turn attention away from the actual physical building and its former functions.

The painting depicts the results of this labor. Visual access to the choir, the former sacral and visual center, is blocked by the assembly of congregants. This dark mass of bodies stops the eye on its journey up the nave and redirects it to a new focal point: the preacher in the pulpit. Suspended from one of the columns at the center of the nave, the pulpit is equipped with a large sound board designed to improve acoustics, reminding viewers that hearing took precedence over sight in this type of worship. Around the pulpit is the baptismal enclosure, a space set apart for the reading and preaching of the Word and the sacrament of baptism.¹² The congregation gathers around this new sacral center. The choir, formerly reserved for a segregated clergy who performed the religious rite, is effectively cut off by this realignment of the interior, redirecting attention to the laity. This disruption to the orientation of the building undermines the original significance and function of its structure. By appropriating and adapting previously established architectural frameworks, the Calvinists were able to make use of the sheer size of the Gothic interior, forging a new kind of communal

ecclesiastic architecture that provided an open public space for lay people to apprehend God's teaching. As Catherine Randall has described it, the Calvinists turned architecture into architexture. They transformed these buildings into settings for the Word.¹³

The open Book at the painting's threshold draws viewers into the chapel, prompting them to read it in these new terms. For Protestants, after all, the Book is always open and is open to all. It is the Word that leads to truth.¹⁴ With this clever visual device, the very process of viewing the painting simultaneously situates beholders as Bible readers who look into a text-centered space. Text and image are not antagonistic here: both media are employed in a broader Protestant culture of persuasion.¹⁵ Importantly, Calvin did not completely censure the usage of visual imagery. He argued that it was not lawful to make any corporeal representation of God, to worship it for God or to worship God in it. For this reason, certain kinds of religious images were removed from church buildings. The reformer did condone didactic uses of visual imagery: "since sculpture and painting are gifts of God, I wish for a pure and legitimate use of both. . . . We conclude, therefore, that nothing should be painted and engraved but objects visible to our eyes: the Divine Majesty, which is far above the reach of human sight, ought not to be corrupted by unseemly figures."¹⁶ While the making and worshipping of an image of God was banned, to paint the visible world for the purposes of instruction was not. As a representation of the visible church, the painting of the New Side's Chapel in no way contravenes Calvin's stance on the image question.

Instead, the painting subtly and persuasively uses visual devices to relate its viewers to both the visible and invisible church. For instance, the foreground ledge calls up a church bench, like the one occupied by the two book-reading men depicted at the center of the painting. By identifying with these men, beholders could situate themselves as Bible-reading participants in the worship service. The threshold of the work serves as a point of interface between the inner private self and its outward public participation, reminding viewers that personal faith founded on scripture was the basis for entry into the church community depicted here. In this way, painting actually inserts itself into the growing gap between the visible material world and the invisible inner realm. The illusionistic picture curtain proclaims that this is an illusory image of the external church, which is itself illusory. The Book accordingly prompts beholders to turn inward and seek true church in their own hearts and minds. For the real church, as Calvin emphatically asserted, was not a visible material entity: "it is unnecessary, as we have observed, to see the Church with our eyes, or feel it with our hands."¹⁷ The painting offers a successful visual solution to the artistic problem of how to represent the actual, material, visible church while simultaneously affirming the true, invisible church. By focusing on the centrality of the Word in personal and communal worship, this picture of a church interior reminds its viewers that they themselves are the church: temples consecrated to the Lord. The visible church interior probes the nature of the interior invisible church.

New conceptions of social representation emerged from this Calvinist realignment of the visible and invisible church. Lay people no longer were represented by the church; instead, they represented the church.¹⁸ The powerful ideal of a church made up of laity united through shared beliefs puts pressure on traditional conceptions of the public sphere, in which public authorities represented the Church and its doctrines before the people. Vestiges of the old order persisted, however. Margaret Miles succinctly notes that Protestants emphasized the spiritual rather than the social equality of believers.¹⁹ As we have seen, the architexture of the Calvinist church was reoriented to minimize former church hierarchies and join together a faith community. Looking again at the painting of the New Side's Chapel, it becomes evident that reformed architexture introduced new power structures. The painting presents a rather rigid tableau of ranked society. Most prominent are the men in the pews attached to the central columns and back wall. These places, the *heerenbancken*, were a specifically Protestant form of church furnishing. They were reserved for official groups of upper-class church members—men who served in civic as well as church governance. Seats of honor, these reserved places raised their occupants above the rest of the congregation, making them visible to all and affording them clear views of the preacher and the assembly.²⁰ The wooden ledge at the threshold of the painting is potentially the edge of a *heerenbanck*. If so, the intended beholder of the painting, its patron, is positioned as a prominent church member, who both joins and oversees the congregation from this vantage point. The image intimates how disciplined inner belief based on Bible reading (rather than on the external rituals of the old order) was the foundation for public participation in both civic and religious governance.

Redesigned church architexture facilitated the exercise of power, for the church service was a weekly event where governors and governed convened in a public place. While hearing may have taken precedence over seeing in worship, there certainly were visual dynamics at play in the culture of persuasion. The painting portrays the panoptic surveillance of church and civic leaders over a disciplined gathering. As art historian Joseph Koerner concludes about Protestant sites of assembly:

Church building maps the space of modern subjectivity. To individuals in this system, understanding should feel like his or her inner grasp of truth. From outside, as a coordinated routine, understanding signals subjugation to a social order: the mind and body both policed by the state. It would be wrong to imagine the one viewpoint without the other. . . . The subject as object of legitimate force fluctuates continuously with the subject as personal domain.²¹

The interconnectedness of the inner forum of private subjectivity and the outer forum of ecclesiastical and political control was made manifest in the space of the Protestant church, where disciplined and self-disciplining private subjects played an increasingly central role in determining the shape of public life.

The religious uniformity pictured in the New Side's Chapel painting clearly offered a firm foundation for political stability. Michel de Certeau has argued that religion changed significantly in the seventeenth century to accommodate the concerns of politics. With the post-Reformation fragmentation of the ideal of a single, unifying religious truth, churches began to employ new instruments of cohesion in order to enforce discipline and moral behavior. The ideal of public order, as de Certeau points out, was traditionally a political rather than a religious value.²² The new emphasis on inner morals and outward behavior was symptomatic of the growing alliance between politics and religion, an attribute that Lefebvre associates with abstract space. This certainly occurred in the Dutch Calvinist churches. As Heinz Schilling notes about the overlapping concerns of church and government in the Dutch Republic, "the state became more sacral before it became more secular."²³ Given this context, the painting of the New Side's Chapel seems to illustrate a specifically Calvinist stance on good governance, in which the two regimes of authority in charge of human affairs—the ecclesiastical and the political—together form a disciplinary structure that aims to maintain social order.²⁴

As Schilling importantly reminds us, the modernity and democracy of Dutch society are often overexaggerated. The Dutch Reformation and Revolt did not usher in a separate secular sphere of politics, nor did it immediately bring about greater equality among citizens. Political power actually became more concentrated in the oligarchic town governments, which retained many elements of the late medieval social structure; if anything, this system ossified in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁵ As the painting indicates, the majority of the populous took their seat among the governed. And the governors did not completely eschew the workings of the old hierarchical society that they had overthrown. This painting may posit inner conviction as the basis of political and religious leadership and participation, but it also demonstrates how, through the use of materials like architecture, paintings, church furniture and even holy books, inner personal piety was asserted through the outward display of the social rank, status and prestige of a spiritual and political elite.

If this painting pictures the Calvinist ideal of a public sphere, as I am arguing, then its structure lies somewhere between Jürgen Habermas's historical categories of "representative publicness" and the "bourgeois public sphere."²⁶ This very in-betweenness highlights an important stage in the historical transformation of public life. As we have seen, the painting in many ways pictures a traditional hierarchical public sphere—Habermas's representative publicness of the late Middle Ages—in which the outward status and power of ecclesiastical and political public authorities is displayed before the people, who submit to it. Concurrently, this image emphasizes the increasing importance of the inner convictions, opinions, beliefs and participation of lay people in public life in a manner that anticipates modern understandings of a "bourgeois public sphere," constituted by private people. This dynamic between public, external, empirical space and inner, invisible, moral space was at the center of new Protestant understandings of

public life structured through persuasion, which aimed to create disciplined and self-disciplining subjects.²⁷ Koerner has pointed out that Protestant sites of assembly—where community was formed through communication, and individuals collectively confronted their invisible inner convictions—prefigured modern notions of the public sphere. In the context of the Protestant culture of persuasion, church “became the quintessential modern non-place, the everywhere and nowhere of information transfer.”²⁸

Emanuel de Witte’s *Sermon in the Old Church, Amsterdam*, painted in around 1660 (fig. 11.2), prompts its viewers to consider the complex dynamics and interstices of information transfer. De Witte made a specialty of sermon paintings. Notably, his works do not make obvious moves to resolve contradictions between the visible and invisible church nor do they demonstrate how civic and religious interests succeeded in ordering docile congregants through persuasion. Instead of an idealized vision of church as it should be, de Witte seems to have painted the church as it sometimes was. The important distinction that Brian Cowan makes in his chapter in this volume between a normative public sphere and a practical public sphere provides a useful framework for contrasting these two paintings.²⁹ The representation of the New Side’s Chapel pictures a normative public sphere: it imagines church as a coherent space of power (fig. 11.1). Viewers survey the space in a manner that establishes their elevated status in relation to the assembly. With its stiff arrangement of figures in their prescribed places, uniform use of light and shade and predictable view up the nave from east to west, this painting bestows a static quality on the church. De Witte’s painting, by contrast, pictures a practical public sphere: here the viewer apprehends church as a fleeting moment in time. The temporal play of sunlight on the white surfaces of columns, walls and clothing commands as much attention as the inaudible message delivered from the pulpit. The painting takes an oblique view from the margins of the assembly, situating its viewers as if they are just walking into the Old Church while a worship service takes place. A frieze of men, women, children and dogs occupies the foreground space; most with backs turned to the viewer. These foreground figures do not appear fully assimilated into the spatial dynamics, discursive logic and relations of surveillance of this re-formed Gothic church. From their position on the margins, not all of them could see or be seen by the preacher in the pulpit or the magistrates in their *heerenbanken*. It takes some time to decipher the layout of the space from this oblique angle, so that the viewer too is not immediately integrated into the architectural framework. The painting thus sets up an interesting viewing dynamic. The picture’s beholder seems to be positioned as a bystander rather than a church member, as a distanced observer rather than a full participant.

It is difficult to gauge the attentiveness of the assembled group. Some sit; others stand or appear to be walking around; many glance in different directions. This is the sort of scene that Swillens no doubt had in mind when disparaging church interior paintings that depicted “the swarming about of numerous churchgoers and the motley character of their dresses.”³⁰ The overall

impression is that the congregation does not fully comprehend the seriousness of being in church and attending to the sermon. Historical evidence backs up this conclusion. Church archives yield numerous Calvinist complaints about distracted and disorderly conduct in services.³¹ Foreign visitors to the Dutch churches often commented, with some surprise, on the disruptive and inattentive behavior of the Reformed congregations. A British sightseer visiting the tomb of William of Orange in Delft's Nieuwe Kerk during a worship service made this complaint: "I could not but have my indignation moved to see the congregation with their hats on and moving or talking without the least respect."³² De Witte's painting seems to picture just such a moment.

At the left of the painting is an unusual staffage figure: a man who holds his hat in front of his face, and bows his head as if in prayer. His actions attract the attention of a small child, who stares up at him. As the British visitor noted, Calvinists did not remove their hats during worship services. Calvin maintained that it was unnecessary to uncover the head or bow the knee while in church, for the church building itself was not a sacred space; God was no more present there than anywhere else.³³ This incongruent worshipper may allude to the reality that many who attended church services were not fully cognizant of Calvinist worship practices and beliefs. In fact, Sunday services were attended by a wide range of people, beyond professing church members.³⁴ Even though Calvinism was the Dutch Republic's official public church, it struggled to attain dominance in the culturally and religiously diverse Dutch cities. Religious historians have speculated that the Calvinist church had difficulty winning new converts in part because of its rigorous disciplinary structures.³⁵ This difficulty was circumvented somewhat by the church's recognition of a group called sympathizers. Sympathizer status was granted to those who regularly attended worship services, but were not full members, and consequently did not take communion or submit to church discipline.³⁶ To be a sympathizer was socially advantageous. Political offices, as we have noted, were restricted to those affiliated with the official church. Citizens could only gain access to full participation in public life via the Calvinist church. The category of sympathizer gave individuals access to the benefits of church membership while allowing them to maintain personal beliefs that did not conform to Calvinist doctrines. The remarks of a seventeenth-century Calvinist about the true identities of sympathizers are revealing: "It often appears that among the persons who call themselves sympathizers lurk Catholics, Mennonites, Libertines, and atheists."³⁷

The Reformed church was thus surprisingly open to those officially excluded as heretics and followers of false religions. When we account for the large number of sympathizers in attendance at any given service as well as curious sightseers and foreign tourists such as the British gentleman in Delft, de Witte's picture of the church begins to seem more in keeping with the contingent, contradictory event that was church than does the static, normative vision of ordered worship conveyed by the New Side's Chapel painting. With de Witte, we begin to suspect that the inner convictions of individual churchgoers could be at odds with publicized church teachings. The disparity

between inner beliefs and outward appearance is in fact a recurrent theme in Calvin's writings about the nature of church. Calvin was acutely aware that even the purest preaching of the Word did not uniformly transform the hearts of churchgoers, and that church membership was no guarantee of salvation: "According to the secret predestination of God, there are many sheep outside the pale of the church and many wolves within."³⁸ It was beyond human discernment to know which congregants concurrently belonged to the true fellowship of the invisible church: "In this church are included many hypocrites, who have nothing of Christ but the name and appearance; . . . those who seemed the most abandoned, and generally considered past all hope, are recalled by his goodness into the right way; while some, who seemed to stand better than others, fall into perdition."³⁹

Seventeenth-century Dutch preachers did not profess to attach any importance to social repute as a sign of spiritual status. Willem Teellinck's remarks about false Christians are worth considering in relation to de Witte's painting:

A false Christian is not only him who has fallen into false doctrines or gives himself over to a sinful life. You can be a member of the Reformed church, live a respectable life, unbesmirched by any heresies; you can forego all contact with worldly people and diligently perform spiritual practices every day—and still not have anything more than the appearance of godliness.⁴⁰

When they looked over their flock, church leaders like Teellinck assumed that even the most respectable could be wearing the self-interested façade of godliness. In the right foreground of de Witte's painting (fig. 11.2) are two scruffy dogs; one lifts its leg to urinate on the back of a *heerenbanck* while the other sniffs. For Calvin, animals were profane: they lacked souls and therefore were unable to transcend the world.⁴¹ Immanent creatures, de Witte's dogs mark worldliness, particularly the worldly aspirations of elite churchgoers. By profaning the segregated church pew, they vividly recall Calvin's dictum that those who seem to stand better than others are just as likely to fall into perdition. Urinating, defecating, even fornicating dogs appear in many of de Witte's church interior paintings, earthy reminders of the true character of the worldly and illusory visible church.

If the righteousness of upstanding citizens was in question, then the godliness of the lowly gave even more cause for concern. Many of de Witte's sermon paintings focus attention on women at the margins of the assembly, often depicted reading small books.⁴² As in the painting of the New Side's Chapel (fig. 11.1), the representation of reading serves as an effective visual device to link inner personal belief with outward public participation in worship. In both paintings, the inclusion of women with books evokes the Protestant ideal of the availability of the Word to all, regardless of gender and social status. The spread of elementary education to boys and girls of all social groups, together with the ability of print technologies to disseminate

identical information to a wide readership, was an apparatus used by Protestants in their efforts to enforce widespread uniformity of belief.⁴³ A common print culture was mobilized to foster a common religious culture.

However, as Roger Chartier especially has argued, the wide circulation of print concurrently created possibilities for distinctive and potentially divergent uses and interpretations.⁴⁴ The disciplines imposed by text-based religion could be met with ways of reading or engaging with the text that did not conform to these teachings. As I have argued elsewhere, there was much anxiety about misuses and misinterpretations of printed material in the Dutch Republic, especially if the readers in question were women, children or members of the lower classes.⁴⁵ Given this context, the reading women in de Witte's paintings are enigmatic. Indeed, much of the interest of the painting is generated by what it cannot depict—private thoughts. The artist paints the visible church, which in Calvin's definition was inscrutable: "even should [the church] have a visible form, that appearance is no guarantor of its truth-value."⁴⁶ The content of this picture confronts the formal limitations of painting, specifically its inability to show the truth of the inner spiritual realm. Pointing beyond itself, art can generate thinking about the invisible church, but it cannot picture it. It can only picture what is visible to our eyes. The small books that the women hold are illegible to the viewer: they may be Calvinist religious texts, but this cannot be discerned for certain. It is impossible here to see whether absorption in a book signifies an attentive or inattentive response to the sermon. Access to inexpensive printed material may have served to draw readers into the flock, or it may have allowed them to cultivate contradictory convictions on the fringes. This has important implications for rethinking how a normative Calvinist public sphere was structured through a culture of persuasion. In the practical public sphere of the visible church, the flow of information via various media clearly has the potential to disrupt the top-down imposition of church doctrines and mechanisms of surveillance. Oral and printed discourse circulates at the margins of this public gathering, but it does not necessarily capture its intended audience.⁴⁷

Thus, the practical Calvinist public sphere creates conditions for the making of publics, defined in this volume as the coming into being of partial and often conflictual new forms of association that were heterogeneous, episodic and as much conceptual or virtual as they were actual in nature.⁴⁸ The orthodox Calvinist church leader Gisbertus Voetius described the visible church in a manner that intimates this public-making potential. The gathering of diverse people in the visible church is like other kinds of public civic gatherings, writes Voetius: "In the same way, people from various nations come together in this or that city to attend market days or public theatre plays, without coming together in that place as one citizenship or being called burgers of the same status."⁴⁹ With this comparison, Voetius conveys his sense that a church congregation is not a preestablished unit. The visible church is not a fixed and stable entity whose membership was based on an *a priori* shared sense of affiliation, identity or even belief. Nor is it a building that contains a docile congregation united in thought around

the teaching of the Word. Voetius's visible church is comprised of performative action; he likens it to the series of dynamic interactions that occurred between the varied people who assembled and disassembled in the city's public spaces, like the marketplace or the theater. The kind of public space Voetius evokes has porous boundaries; it is open to the foreigner, the unbeliever, the stranger.⁵⁰ Not everyone within such groupings can be known personally, and even those who are known remain inscrutable, for the visible church is based on the premise that those who appear to be outsiders might in fact be true members, while those who seem to belong perhaps do not. Negotiating within imposed disciplinary structures, many preserved differing inner beliefs, trading external submission for a range of social benefits. And while the persuasive preaching and publication of the Word certainly had the potential to generate a like-minded public, this was only accomplished in tension with the presupposition that communication did not guarantee community. De Witte's ambiguous painting intimates how counterpublics of dissenting individuals could potentially form within and against the strictures of church walls and church doctrines.

De Witte's sermon paintings are classified in inventories as "sermons," presumably because of their content.⁵¹ However, the pictures themselves functioned in the manner of sermons, in the sense that they stimulated contemplation about religious convictions. In his biography of de Witte, Arnold Houbraken describes the artist as a querulous man who especially enjoyed instigating arguments about religion at the pub. He calls de Witte a second Diogenes Cynicus, in reference to the ancient Greek critic of public life, remembered for his barbed jeers and fearless blasphemy. Contrasting de Witte's dissolute character with the calm of his church paintings, Houbraken seems to depart from the well-worn biographical formula in which artistic life and work are made to conform, and personalities are derived from paintings.⁵² Yet Houbraken's familiarity with de Witte's oeuvre indicates that his anecdotes about the confrontational and cynical artist are perhaps more formulaic than they initially seem, for the paintings themselves could be described as arguments about religion. De Witte's sermon paintings are not sermons in the sense of didactic communications of familiar doctrines and accepted moral codes of behavior. Perhaps they are better understood as countersermons, for these works do not ask their viewers to merely accept what they are sure of, or to possess meanings that are already known. Rather, they are open to interpretation, argument and discussion.

Here it is useful to return to Lefebvre's theories about abstract space. Lefebvre asserts that the efficacy of abstract space lies in its ability to mask its own internal contradictions—to present itself as coherent, homogenous and securely linked to the interests of governing powers. The actual contradictions of space persist, however, for this image of homogeneity is nothing more than an attempt to repress differences and deny the inner contradictions of space "which are clearly revealed by analysis."⁵³ It seems to me that de Witte's paintings do this sort of analysis, critically (and perhaps cynically) revealing the ambiguities of church. Such analytic practice is hopeful

for Lefebvre, who highlights that the many inconsistencies of social space have the potential to generate competing meanings, opening the space itself up to the very differences that it seeks to deny or exclude. In other words, the contradictions of space can engender the formation of counterpublics, equipped to critique or turn spatial logic against itself.

The success of church interior paintings on an open art market indicates that these were desirable commodities, bought by private people to be displayed and discussed in their homes. Unlike the New Side's Chapel painting, which posits a Calvinist church leader as its primary viewer, the open-ended ambiguities of de Witte's sermons address a broader range of viewers by allowing for differing religious and political affiliations. While the New Side's Chapel painting adheres to normative institutional teachings, de Witte's pictures of people in church call up a public independent of church. The paintings provide a marginal viewing position that could be occupied by men and women who were confessing members, as well as those who were onlookers, sympathizers, doubters, false believers, foreigners or tourists. As I have argued, these ambiguous sermon paintings do not adhere to a single doctrine, but reflexively interrogate public discourse about the complex set of issues they raise. These include: the interlinked tensions between the visible and invisible church, between imposed doctrines and lived experience and between the power of the Word and the transformed power of the image to make publics in a Calvinist context. Intricate and thought-provoking, de Witte's sermon paintings allow for responses that range from dissension to acceptance, for they create a space for critical discussion of the imposed religious, political and social order. In this manner, they have the capacity to create their own publics of diverse viewers willing to ponder and debate the subtleties of the Calvinist church, an entity that even Calvin called "the Church which we do not fully comprehend."⁵⁴

NOTES

1. Maximiliaen Teellinck, *Christelycke Onderwijsinghe, ofte: Korte en Bondighe Verklaringhe over den Catechismus genaemt Kort Begrijp der Christelijker Religie* (Middelburg: Anthony de Later, 1652). Cited in A. Th. van Deursen, *De Hartslag van het Leven. Studies over de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1996), 285.
2. P.T.A. Swillens, "The Paintings," in *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Pieter Jansz Saenredam* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1961), 12.
3. On church interior paintings, see Angela Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012). The standard catalogue of Netherlandish architectural painting is Hans Jantzen, *Das Niederländische Architekturbild* (1909; reprint, Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1979). On the market for these paintings, see Jeroen Giltaij, "Perspectives: Saenredam and the Architectural Painters," in *Perspectives: Saenredam and the Architectural Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. Giltaij and G. Jansen (Rotterdam: exh. cat. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1991), 9,

- 16; Christopher White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), xxxix, 63; also Walter Liedtke, "The Court Style: Architectural Painting in The Hague and London," in *Perspectives: Saenredam and the Architectural Painters*, 31–42.
4. Possibly the painting is by Johannes Coesermans. See Paul Dirkse, *Begijnen, Pastoors en Predikanten. Religie en Kunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2001), 55–64.
5. Usually in reference to the well-known story of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, found in Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia. Latin and English*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann, 1938), 9:309–310.
6. The chapel was begun in 1346 and completed in 1347. It was damaged by fire and rebuilt in 1421 and again in 1452, when it was enlarged. For a detailed history of the Amsterdam miracle and the Holy Place, see P.J. Margry and C. Caspers, *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland. Deel I: Noord- en Midden-Nederland* (Amsterdam: P.J. Meertens Institute, 1997), 134–150. Margry is also the author of the entry on the Heilige Stede in the Meertens Institute database on Dutch pilgrimage sites: "Databank Bedevaart en Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland," Meertens Institute, accessed March 26, 2010, <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart/>.
7. "Dat hier door dese plaets seer vermaert geworden zijnde, en het volck, geduurlyck oock van verre gelegen plaetsen 't zamen komende, niet alleen bedevaerten en gebeden, maar voornamelijck gout, en rijckdommen herwaerts brengende." Olfert Dapper, *Historische Beschrijving der Stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663), 391.
8. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 254–255. See also Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3–4.
9. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 266.
10. Andrew Pettegree, "Coming to Terms with Victory: The Upbuilding of a Calvinist Church in Holland, 1572–1590," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 161–162.
11. This passage is from a letter written by a Delft preacher in 1572. Cited in Pettegree, "Coming to Terms," 162.
12. C.A. van Swigchem et al., *Een Huis voor Het Woord. Het Protestantse Kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1984), 13.
13. Catherine Randall, *Building Codes: The Aesthetics of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 17. See Swigchem, *Een Huis voor Het Woord*, for specifics of the Dutch transformation of the church building into a "house for the Word." On the church as communal architecture, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 43.
14. Swigchem, *Een Huis voor Het Woord*, 23.
15. See Kirby's chapter in this volume, and the important work by Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
16. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 7th American ed., trans. John Allen (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1900), 1:126. On Calvin's stance, see Paul Corby Finney, editor's preface to *Seeing*

- beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), xvi.
17. Calvin, *Institutes*, 2:273.
 18. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 377; Randall, *Building Codes*, 38.
 19. Margaret Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 107. Joseph Leo Koerner, "Reforming the Assembly," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe: ZKM Centre for Art and Media with MIT Press, 2002), 404.
 20. Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, *Church Art and Architecture in the Low Countries before 1566*, vol. 37, *Sixteenth Century Essays* (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), 18.
 21. Koerner, "Reforming the Assembly," 433.
 22. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 127–130. De Certeau's insights resonate with the theories of Lefebvre regarding the shift from absolute to abstract space.
 23. Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Europe," in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 3, *Visions, Programs and Outcomes*, ed. T.A. Brady, Jr., et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 644. See also the interesting discussion of Calvinism, discipline and state formation in Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 18.
 24. Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 266; Schilling, "Confessional Europe," 655; Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution*, xiv.
 25. Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Politics, Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in Dutch and German History* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), esp. 307–332.
 26. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), esp. chaps. 2 and 3.
 27. See Kirby's chapter in this volume.
 28. Koerner, "Reforming the Assembly," 404; also Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 377–378.
 29. See Brian Cowan's chapter in this volume.
 30. Swillens, "The Paintings," 15.
 31. Calvinist complaints about disruptive behavior are explored in Pettegree, "Coming to Terms with Victory," 174–179.
 32. Cited in Cornelis van Strien, "British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1989), 147. Quick to judge the congregants, this gentleman obviously did not see his own sightseeing activities during the service as inappropriate.
 33. See Carlos M.N. Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 215. This staffage figure is repeated by de Witte in a number of his church interior scenes.
 34. While precise numbers are difficult to estimate, Schutte surmises that in 1650, professing Calvinists comprised only thirty percent of the total population. G.J. Schutte, "De Publieke Kerk en de Cultuur. Theocratie van Calvinistische Stempel?" *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992), 36.

35. See the discussion in Judith Pollman, "Women and Religion in the Dutch Golden Age," *Dutch Crossing* 24, no. 2 (Winter 2000): 163.
36. Alistair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: Hambleton Press, 1990), 288; Joke Spaans, "Catholicism and Resistance to the Reformation in the Northern Netherlands," in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*, ed. Philip Benedict et al., vol. 176 (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), 161.
37. Quoted in Benjamin J. Kaplan, "Confessionalism and Its Limits: Religion in Utrecht, 1600–1650," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, exh. cat., ed. Joneath Spicer et al. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery; San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 68; see also Spaans, "Catholicism and Resistance," 161.
38. Calvin, *Institutes*, 2:281.
39. *Ibid.*, 2:280–281.
40. "Een naam-christen is niet alleen hij de zich in dwalleer verloopt of zich overgeeft an een zondig leven. Je kunt lidmaat zijn van de gereformeede kerk, fatsoenlijk van leven, onbesmet van alle ketterij; je kunt alle omgang met wereldse mensen vermijden en ijverig elke dag geestelijke oefeningen verrichten—en toch niet meer hebben dan de schijn der godzaligheid." Teelinck, *Christelycke Onderwijsinghe*, cited in Deursen, *De Hartslog*, 285.
41. Only the human soul transcends the world after death. See Calvin, *Institutes*, 2:252. Also Heinrich Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things*, trans. Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), 59.
42. On the educational opportunities that the church offered women, see Mirjam de Baar, "'Let your Women Keep Silent in the Churches': How Women in the Dutch Reformed Church Evaded Paul's Admonition, 1650–1700," in *Women in the Church: Studies in Church History*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 389–402; and Joyce L. Irwin, trans. and ed., *Anna Maria van Schuurman: Whether a Christian Woman Should Be Educated and Other Writings from Her Intellectual Circle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
43. On Protestant uses of print in education, see Carmen Luke, *Pedagogy, Printing and Protestantism: The Discourse on Childhood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).
44. Chartier has written extensively about these issues. For an elegant summary of his arguments, see Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), esp. 183–239.
45. Angela Vanhaelen, *Comic Print and Theatre in Early Modern Amsterdam: Gender, Childhood and the City* (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), esp. 26–37, 54–58.
46. Cited in Randall, *Building Codes*, 38.
47. On the importance of the margins of a public, see Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 78.
48. See the Introduction and especially Steven Mullaney's chapter in this volume.
49. "Zoo kunnen in de eene of andere stad menschen van allerlei natiën tot het bijwonen der markt dagen of van openbare schouwspelen samenvloeien, zonder nog op die plaats één burgerij samen te stellen of burger van denzelfden staat te worden genoemd." Gisbertus Voetius, *Verhandeling over de Zichtbare en Georganiseerde Kerk*, trans. R.J.W. Rudolph and F.F.C. Fischer (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1902), 7.

50. Warner describes a public in terms of its “environment of strangerhood.” See “Publics and Counterpublics,” esp. 55–57.
51. Walter Liedtke, “Painting in Delft from about 1600 to 1650,” in *Vermeer and the Delft School*, ed. Walter Liedtke et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art with Yale University Press, 2001), 77
52. Houbraken’s account of the artist’s suicide also implies that de Witte was no true believer. Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouwburgh der Nederlandsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (1753; reprint, Amsterdam: Israël, 1976), 1:222. See also the commentary in Hendrik J. Horn, *The Golden Age Revisited: Arnold Houbraken’s Great Theatre of Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2000), 1:400.
53. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 306.
54. Calvin, *Institutes*, 2:273.

12 Matrices of Force

Spinozist Monism and Margaret Cavendish's *Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World*

Meredith Evans

“Is it lack of imagination that makes us come
to imagined places, not just stay at home?
Or could Pascal have been not entirely right
about just sitting quietly in one's room?
Continent, city, country, society:
the choice is never wide and never free.
And here, or there . . . No. Should we have stayed at home,
wherever that may be?”

—Elizabeth Bishop, “Questions of Travel”

By many accounts, including her own, Margaret Cavendish aspired to join the ranks of those modest witnesses of fact who shaped early modern natural philosophy.¹ By her own account, she was also inclined just to stay home. In her *True Relation of My Birth, Breeding, and Life* (1656),² she endorses a Baconian proscription against obfuscating verbosity only to turn it against members of her sex, curtailing their unfettered participation in discursive communities: “our Sex doth nothing but justle for the Preheminance of words, I mean not for speaking well, but speaking much, as they do for Preheminance of place . . . but if our Sex would but well consider, and rationally ponder, they will perceive and find, that it is neither words nor place that can advance them, but worth and merit” (52). She elaborates on the cloistered virtue of reticence in more personal terms, too: “I could most willingly exclude my self,” she writes, “so as Never to see the face of any creature, but my Lord, as long as I live, inclosing my self like an Anchoret, wearing a Frize-gown, tied with a cord about my waste” (62–63). What is one to make of this voluble writer's advocacy of reticence? To advance “by worth and merit,” while not a guerrilla tactic, is neither a reactionary goal nor a particularly feminine strategy. There is nothing uniquely revealing about her autobiographical record per se. More telling, I think, is this text's deeply conflicted attitude about how women ought or ought not to seek advancement, and to what end they should advance. As Cavendish's theatrical description of her virtue suggests, her seclusion was

punctured by a knack for publicity; her outré sartorial habits attracted it, but she pursued it actively through publication and her participation in the literary and scientific culture of her day.

Both her royalist politics and the contradictory, often self-undermining nature of her protofeminism have tended to diffuse Cavendish's heterodoxy into eccentricity, or else a radicalism stunted from the outset in apparently obvious ways (that is, radical sexual politics muted by a privileged class position and/or the hegemony of gender roles).³ To be sure, the ostensible contradictions of her views can come off as a kind of dialectical tic. For instance, *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* (1666), Cavendish's most widely known text and the one I shall focus on here, announces itself as an alternate world, its author as an alter ego, and its social cartography as a play of surface and depth. By her own lights, though, such dialectical traffic carries little critical weight. In the context of her philosophical monism, it is merely a formal gesture that preserves, without altering, the rigid boundaries it shuttles between.⁴ Among such gestures, one might include Cavendish's 1667 visit to the Royal Society. It provoked a flurry of defensive feather-ruffling within the scientific community, and was diminished as a social scandal repercussive only with respect to the decorums of sex. But especially insofar as the vigilantly guarded, impervious space of the Royal Society helped secure the social and methodological modesty of its scientific practice, Cavendish thereby punctured the masculinist "experimental solution to the problem of order," whose "practicality, potency, and innocuousness were dependent upon the erection and maintenance of a crucial boundary around the practices of the new experimental form of life."⁵ Still, many literary and intellectual historical accounts of "the elaborately constructed and defended confidence of [the] civic man of reason"⁶ fail to grapple with the real scandal of her philosophical intervention, which challenged not only the viability of the growing distinction between public and private and the insularity of gendered social spaces, but also the theoretical basis of natural philosophy.

The way in which experimental science described and promoted itself hinged on at least two crucial assumptions: the visibility of the natural world and the pellucid perceptions of its observers. In Donna Haraway's account, the idealized practitioner of natural philosophy is a "modest witness" whose objective, disembodied stance on the empirical world helps facilitate modernity's definitive separation of the technical from the political.⁷ Maintaining a distance from the empirical reality upon which he looks with an uninvasive eye, his account of reality aspires to a mirror symmetry. Like the putative transparency of the scientific observer himself, it is exempted from the clouded perception such opacity would entail.⁸ In the preface to his *Micrographia*, for example, Robert Hooke rejects the ancient maieutic method of philosophical enlightenment; instead, he imagines himself, if not as a transparent glass, then at least as a very fine glassmaker: "all my ambition is, that I may serve to the great Philosophers of this Age, as the

makers and the grinders of my glasses did to me.”⁹ Of course, glasses do not simply facilitate vision but alter and correct it, magnifying what would otherwise remain unseen. Nevertheless, the prosthetic enhancement of vision colludes with the ideal of simple transparency. Whether enabled by telescopes or microscopes, it asserts a concrete, if illusive, distance between the eye and what it observes.

Further, Hooke’s conceit asserts an abstinence from the promiscuities of speculation. Where others allow their conjectures to drift, unmoored from the realities of the sensible world, the experimental philosopher focuses on the visible world, eschewing the potential excesses of conjecture and surmise.¹⁰ Standing outside of nature as he observes it and possessed of self-mastery, including mastery over his own body, he may be further described as “a kingdom within a kingdom.”¹¹ The phrase is Spinoza’s, from the preface to Part III of his *Ethics*. It summarizes the superstitious belief that “man disturbs, rather than follows, the order of Nature, that he has absolute power over his actions, and that he is determined only by himself” (III, Preface).¹² Spinoza explicitly targets philosophers who purport to describe man *sub specie durationis* while in fact describing him *sub specie aeternitatis*. He names only Descartes here, and then just by way of partial exculpation, but he may just as well be targeting the practitioners of the new science. Each errs in imagining that knowledge derived from sensual perception is knowledge of the essential nature of the object of their scrutiny, whether that object is “man” or the empirical world more generally.

For Spinoza, “experimental philosophy on its own cannot demonstrate the fixed and immutable laws of nature nor determine the general contours and extent of scientific knowledge.”¹³ Positing matter as heterogeneous,¹⁴ experimental philosophy views nature inductively, as a whole determined by distinct parts. Conversely, for Spinoza the whole determines its indistinct parts, which accommodate one another or cause one another to “behave” in particular ways.¹⁵ No corporeal or thinking substance—no scientific observer, say—is apart from and undetermined by the material world he intends only to mirror: the interrelated notions of mastery over nature and the self-mastery of the modest witness thus rest on a faulty (meta)physics. Just as the affects cannot be commanded absolutely by will (V, Preface), “human power is very limited and infinitely surpassed by the power of external causes” (IV, Appendix, xxxii).

Despite Cavendish’s fanciful self-proclamation as “Margaret the First” (153)—in some sense, a “kingdom within a kingdom”—both her physics and politics correspond to a Spinozist conception of nature. I am not suggesting there is anything in her thought comparable to Spinoza’s geometric method or its systematicity. Cavendish changed her mind at least once about fundamental issues (atomism, for example), and saw nothing contradictory about appending a work of fantasy to a scientific text she expected to have taken seriously as such. While it is not unthinkable that Cavendish may have read and been directly influenced by Spinoza,¹⁶ my claim for their

alignment does not presuppose it. My positioning of Cavendish alongside Spinoza is informed by a certain logical kinship. An optical-lens grinder by trade, Spinoza practiced what, for Hooke, was only a whimsical conceit, and, like Cavendish, subjected experimental science to critical scrutiny. For her part, Cavendish neither attempted to fashion herself as a “civic man of reason” nor cross the tentative new border of his public sphere. More trenchantly, like Spinoza, she challenged the new science by refusing its *sine qua non*. Violating the rigorous separation of identity and difference dictated by the law of noncontradiction, according to which something cannot be both P and not-P (both God *and* Nature, in Spinoza’s terms),¹⁷ her critique takes shape around the excluded middle: a middle that is, finally, everywhere.

Addressing the vitalism of Cavendish’s *Observations on Experimental Philosophy*, John Rogers argues that “the question [her] philosophy never sufficiently answers involves the nature of the causal relation between the violent crash of occasion and the internal and innate motion that seems invariably to follow it.”¹⁸ Because Rogers wants to understand her philosophy as a “science of rational agency”¹⁹ with protoliberal implications, its concession to external force, or to compulsion no less than intention, presents an intractable problem. According to Rogers, her hypothesis that matter is composed of freely moving atoms entails a voluntaristic theory of action and subjectivity; yet, he concedes, “an animate body’s motion can seem as much an act of resignation to the pressure of external forces as it seems a positive and freely willed self-action.” As I shall argue, pace Rogers, Cavendish’s admission of determinate force is not merely a crippling concession, much less a fact that needs to be explained away, but an axiom of her philosophy.

In Spinoza’s formulation, this axiom stipulates that “a body which moves or is at rest must be determined by another body, which has also been determined to motion or rest by another, and that again by another, and so on, to infinity” (II, L3). In *The Blazing World*, material determination is correlative to political force, defined initially by the ability to delineate and maintain a boundary between a juridico-political inside and outside, and to decide who will cross it under what circumstances. This force is emplotted as a series of progressively complex cartographic and social transgressions. The text’s narrative begins, as so many stories do, with the abduction of a Lady. Initiated not by a “freely willed” act but “an act of resignation” whereby self-mastery capitulates to material force, *The Blazing World* thematizes Spinoza’s criticism of Descartes and Bacon, both of whom suppose (though to very different ends) that “the human will is free and broader than the intellect,”²⁰ and that intellectual endeavor can willfully be regulated and freed of the contingent incursions of external force. A foreign man “beneath her both in Birth and Wealth,” the Lady’s abductor is himself a transgressor of social and political boundaries, a “Merchant traveling into a foreign country” (154); although she lived close to the shore, circumscribed by a boundary of remarkable metaphorical and philosophical

power, this only “encouraged [him] the more to execute his design” (154), and within the space of a few sentences Cavendish has him “[force] her away” and bear her across the sea. Thus they “were not onely driven to the very end or point of the Pole of that World, but even to another Pole of another World,” “joined close to it” but utterly self-contained, complete even with its own sun (154–155). (Here Hans Blumenberg, following Pascal, agrees: No shore is secure. And no, you cannot follow your own adventure.)²¹ To relate the story telescopically, the Lady’s abductor and his few servants perish en route to the Blazing-World, over which she quickly assumes sovereign power.

In many respects, the Blazing-World is blissfully insular, hierarchical and peacefully integrated: “There was but one language in all that world, nor no more but one Emperor, to whom they had all submitted with the greatest duty and obedience, which made them live in a continued peace and happiness, not acquainted with other foreign wars, or home-bred insurrections” (160). However, the text’s utopian vision is belied by its recursive exploration of political and natural integrity. Again and again, at times against Cavendish’s own political interests, her texts discover integrity not as a condition of perpetual peace but as a volatile compound substance. Despite the proclaimed insularity of its nested kingdom, the Blazing-World is structured as a series of recesses, each of which opens onto a vista broader and stranger than the last. Occupying the center of the Blazing-World is a palace that, like the Blazing-World itself, is composed of both outward and inward parts. Its innermost “part” is the Emperor’s bedchamber: the Lady’s destined livery, one might assume, and the terminus of comedy, except that the chamber is adorned to represent the world outside its walls, and the narrative is by no means closed. Generated by “the paired modes of interior and exterior,”²² *The Blazing World* proceeds to subject them to a *reductio ad absurdum*.

The intricate and disorienting architecture of the Blazing-World replicates in magnified form the detail of a drone-fly’s eye documented in Robert Hooke’s *Micrographia*. In this striking image, the minute object under observation records both the observer and his perceptual field; the eye (which Cavendish refers to as a “pearl”) reflects and multiplies the inside of Hooke’s chamber, as well as the window of his chamber that faces the world outside. In contrast to the anatomizing perspective of experimentalism, the representation suggests that the investigation of interiors—even, or especially, when technologically aided—will only uncover more surfaces.²³ The Lady’s native informants argue the same point:

Then she asked both the Fish- and Worm-men, whether all those Creatures that have blood, had a circulation of blood in their veins and arteries? But they answered, That it was impossible to give an exact account thereof, by reason the circulation of blood was an interior motion, which their senses, neither of themselves, nor by the help of

any optick instrument could perceive; but as soon as they had dissected an animal Creature to find out the truth thereof, the interior motions . . . were altered. (176)

Likewise, *The Blazing World's* dizzying deconstruction of spatial relations suggests that the terms by which we demarcate insides from outsides are fanciful at best.²⁴ It recalibrates by reimagining “quite different relationships between private and public spheres and their corresponding collective and individual identities.”²⁵ Far from sharpening the boundaries of these spheres and these identities, the text’s description of spaces too readily identified as interior or exterior aims to realize the homogeneity of space, or, again, the identity of space and extension. In this respect, the Blazing-World is a figure of Cavendish’s philosophical monism, for if all matter is infinite and unified, it can no more be divided into outsides and insides than divided into discrete, finite parts.

Admittedly, the homogeneity of matter is not easily translated into sociopolitical terms. It is one thing to assert the cohesiveness of the natural world, and quite another to assert this of the polity. But while Cavendish’s narrative registers the difficulty of translating philosophical precepts into political terms, it also argues for their inextricability. As I have noted, much as *The Blazing World* and its companion text *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* peacefully cohabit, Cavendish imagines the Blazing-World in conventionally hierarchical terms. It is monotheistic (“there is but one God, whom we all unanimously worship and adore with one Faith” [164]) and monarchical; not Hydra-headed but of one mind; more air pump than Leviathan. Nevertheless, it is not unmarked by significant social division. The Empress is especially perplexed by its gendered demarcation of public and private spheres: “I had thought you had been either Jews, or Turks, because I never perceived any Women in your Congregations; But [if you are not Jews or Turks], what is the reason, you bar them from your religious Assemblies?” (164). The Spirits, who serve as the Empress’s tour guides and primary interlocutors, explain that women would only distract from religious worship, as they would from affairs of state if they were politically enfranchised; thus, women “stay at home, and say their Prayers by themselves in their Closets” (164).

Despite such patriarchal vigilance, the Spirits allow, women still “make disturbance” and cause “mischief secretly” even more than “if they had management of publick affairs,” for instance by imposing their wills on their husbands with “importunate perswasions” (165). For the Spirits, this indicates merely an unfortunate breach in an otherwise securely bounded political domain. In the context of *The Blazing World*, however, it indicates a more substantive homogenization of nature-and-society in which parts, while admitted, are nevertheless related within and to the whole.²⁶ Peopled, for lack of a better word, by Bear-men, Worm-men, Fly-men and the like, it even transgresses the boundary between humans and other species. Such

transgressions are fictional counterparts of Cavendish's philosophical views, but are not on that account "[sequestered] out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian polities."²⁷ However fabular, they are consistent with a monistic account of reality that subsumes things otherwise distinct, whether male and female, publicity and privacy or even politics and nature.

Broadly stated, Cavendish's monism posits the infinitude of nature:²⁸

[The Empress] desired to be informed, what opinion [the Spirits] had of the beginning of forms? They told her Majesty, That they did not understand what she meant by this expression; For, said they, there is no beginning in Nature, no not of Particulars, by reason Nature is Eternal and Infinite, and her particulars are subject to infinite changes and transmutations by vertue of their own corporeal, figurative self-motions; so that there's nothing new in Nature, nor properly a beginning of any thing. (181)

This nature is no more amenable to ontological distinction than it is to temporal circumscription, since to say that nature is infinite is to refuse, in addition to the Judeo-Christian account of creation as both the event of God's work and its product, one of the basic premises of the new science; namely, that parts can be separated from one another and from the whole that determines them, and that therefore nature is finite:²⁹ "all parts of Nature are composed in one body, and though they may be infinitely divided, commixed and changed in their particulars, yet in general, parts cannot be separated from parts as long as Nature lasts" (180). In Spinoza, these same monistic premises lead to a conception of God as *res extensa*. Of his opponents he writes, "they think that corporeal substance, insofar as it is substance, consists of parts. And therefore they deny that it can be infinite, that it can pertain to God" (I, P15). Their argument rests on the supposition that substance is composed of parts, which Spinoza, like Cavendish, rejects (I, P15, Schol. IV). For Spinoza, "Whatever is, is in God, and nothing can be or be conceived without God" (I, P15). This means that extended substance, for which God is necessary, is also an attribute of God. But an attribute of God is not made up of parts; it is infinite and indivisible (I, P15). Hence Spinoza's "God-or-nature," where "or" translates the Latin *sive* or *seu*, stipulating equivalence rather than alternation.

Cavendish's monism is not as thorough as Spinoza's, and her "nature" is not entirely consistent with Spinozistic "God-or-nature." As she asserts in her *Grounds of Natural Philosophy*, "God is Eternal Creator; Nature, his Eternal Creature" (241). But while for Cavendish God is separate from nature, His stated homogeneity replicates the mutual penetration of nature's nominal parts. Responding to the Empress's questions about how God is constituted, the Spirits reply that "there could be nothing in God, nor could God be full of anything, either forms or figures [in Spinoza, "substances and modes"], but of himself" (196). While it is articulated clearly only with

respect to God, this fantasy of the mutual penetration of inside and outside beyond which there is merely “nothing” permeates the monistic structure of *The Blazing World*. It is not obvious whether or how Cavendish’s monism stops short of an immanent God;³⁰ indeed, for many of her contemporaries, immanence and atheism seemed coimplied.³¹

Though Cavendish’s “Note to the Reader” indelibly marks *The Blazing World* as the product of her own hand, the narrative erects a fourth wall between the reader and the Blazing-World described therein. For the most part, the text maintains the illusion of autonomously existing fiction. However, this wall is destroyed when, halfway through the narrative, a character by the name of the Duchess of Newcastle enters the Blazing-World to act as scribe for the “Jew’s Cabbala” the Empress wishes to compose. According to the terms of its own fiction, the creator or “god” of *The Blazing World* is, like Spinoza’s God, immanent in her creation. The only way for the Empress to write a “Jew’s Cabbala,” the Duchess proclaims, is “to have a Soul of some famous Jew” be the scribe (209). After a lengthy disputation on the possibility of having Moses’s soul transcribe the Empress’s text, the desire to write a “Jew’s Cabbala” is given up in favor first of making “a Philosophical Cabbala,” then of making “a Moral Cabbala”—then “a Political Cabbala,” and finally “a Poetical or Romancical Cabbala, wherein you can use Metaphors, Allegories, Similitudes, &c. and interpret them as you please,” all the other options having been dismissed as either impracticable or superfluous (210). But just as soon as the Empress and Duchess settle on a “Romancical Cabbala,” the narrative passes it over. It is as if the “Cabbala” need not be transcribed by the Duchess of Newcastle because it is already being written by Cavendish, and the reader is left to substitute the book she holds in her hands for this same Cabbala.

The author’s presence in *The Blazing World* is another means by which Cavendish stipules the indistinction of extended substance (here, the text and the empirical world it represents) and the organizing thought behind it. Violating empiricism’s methodological abstinence, it suggests that so-called imaginary space is not fundamentally different from real space, and that the empirical world is continuous with cognition and speculation.³² Given the imbrication of imaginary space and real space, they are neither analogically proximate nor absolutely distinct. Put another way, real space is not something apprehended by transcendental apperception or our perceptual faculties; rather, like a textual “body” in which the authorial “mind” is immanent, it is permeated by cognition. Of course, Cavendish’s presence in her text is itself a fiction, a metaphor for the identity of real space and imaginary space or, again, of *res extensa* and *res cogitans*. However, given that her physics repudiates the corresponding distinction between spirit and matter, the metaphor pertains equally to the world described by the *Observations* and to that described by *The Blazing World*. The philosophical context of *The Blazing World* lends the elaborate architecture of its fiction a rigorous, if playful, application. Like the infinitude of Cavendish’s natural

world, *The Blazing World's* metafiction is in tension with the theological transcendence she elsewhere asserts. Similarly, the monistic immanence of *The Blazing World* complicates Cavendish's self-fashioning as "Margaret the First": a "kingdom within a kingdom." Cavendish's entrance into her text, like God into her creation, does not signal a multiplication of recessive interiors that preserves the subject's sovereign boundedness and the autonomy of its virtual worlds.³³ Without a sturdy metaphysical armature to support them, the private person and the virtual counterpublic she improvises appear more like malleable processes than closed and unitary "spheres."

So far my account of *The Blazing World* has singled out episodes in which Cavendish's formal, tropological and generic experiments converge most seamlessly with, and thus best illustrate, the substance of her philosophical critique. By way of further illustration, one might also consider the Empress's appointment of the Duchess as her scribe. Rhetorically, this is presented as a choice of last resort. Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plato and the like "were very learned, subtle, and ingenious Writers" but "were so wedded to their own opinions, that they would never have the patience to be Scribes." And Galileo, Descartes, Hobbes and More,³⁴ while "fine ingenious Writers," were "so self-conceited, that they would scorn to be Scribes to a Woman" (208). By initially entertaining and ultimately discounting these two categories of philosophers as viable intellectual conspirators, Cavendish allows that her writing and thinking owe something to both, but can adequately be represented by neither. At the same time, she suggests that the antinomy between herself and the "moderns" is less a matter of intellectual difference than a strategic exclusion stemming from their "self-conceited" refusal to disseminate a woman's work.

By registering the multiple cognitive and affective dimensions of intellectual life—be they strategies of exclusion or felicities of unanticipated attraction—the space Cavendish creates from her public privation differentiates itself from the romanticized, sanitized space of public sphere theory. Hardly a choice of last resort, the Empress's appointment of the Duchess is emphatically erotic. As she conjures the Duchess in the form of a spirit or same-sex "Platonic Lover," the Empress initially assumes her appointment can give the Emperor no cause to be jealous. The Spirit-guide she consults on the matter corrects her in no uncertain terms: "In truth . . . Husbands have reason to be jealous of Platonik Lovers, for they are very dangerous, as being not onely very intimate and close, but subtil and insinuating" (208–209). "You say well," the Empress concedes. Instead of retracting her scribal appointment, though, she reasserts it: "wherefore I pray send me the Duchess of Newcastle's Soul" (209). The fact that it is the Duchess's *soul* she summons does not adulterate the affective dimension of cultural transmission and scribal publication to which this exchange alludes, for Cavendish rejects the dualist view of "rational Souls" as "immaterial . . . in need of corporeal Vehicles" (202).³⁵ In her *True Relation*, as we have seen, she presents the life of the mind as a form of willing exclusion allegorized

as an Anchorite in a hair shirt. Here, by contrast, she draws a palpable connection between discovery and desire. Flouting natural philosophy's abstemious anti-Platonism, she regards objective investigation and subjective investment as co-constitutive enterprises, and dissolves the putatively chaste boundary between *eros* and *logos*, or, indeed, between women. As Jonathan Goldberg notes, "you cannot assume that platonic lovers have only spiritual relations, or that spiritual kisses do not take place on two women's lips."³⁶ They don't; and they do.

On being shown the "beloved world" the Duchess "carried . . . along with her" (England? *The Blazing World?*), the Empress "was so ravished with the perception of it, that her soul desired to live in the Duchess's World" (216). To be ravished by perception is not the experimental mode of seeing. It undermines the illusion of objectivity in part by collapsing the distance between the observer and the world he might not only "desire to live in" but, crucially, might find himself to be living in already. In her *Sociable Letters*, published in 1664, Cavendish concurs with Boyle and others in asserting the necessity of a vacuum in nature. She argues that even where plenism draws a distinction between "Gross Bodies" and "Rare Bodies," as opposed to vacuism's more tenuous distinction between something and nothing, it fails to give an account of how "rare" matter can "contract and dilate," as it must if it is to accommodate the motion of "gross" matter. "[If] there were no Vacuum," she writes, "every part would be Press'd, and Joyn'd into a Firm Body or Substance, nay surely there would be great Confusion amongst all the Works of Nature" (173). This view of matter as "Press'd, and Joyn'd into a Firm Body or Substance" is not necessarily inconsistent with the monism I have attributed to Cavendish. Indeed, the letter stops just short of concluding that nature does in fact abhor a vacuum, and leaves the issue provisionally open: "one would think there were no Vacuum in Nature, because Nature is Forced, or seems to be so, as to make Way for Life by Death, as if she had no Room, or Space for Life, but what was caused by Death. But leaving these Empty and Filling Opinions, I rest, &c" (173).

A basic premise of Cavendish's early nonmonist, vacuist argument is that space and matter are distinct: "the Space or Place must be Empty before the Rare Bodies Enter, for two Bodies cannot be in one Place at One time, and if the . . . Solid Bodies, leave no Places, but always move in Full Matter, I cannot imagine how they should Move if all Places be Full" (173). In *The Blazing World*, published two years later, the two "rare" bodies of the Empress and the Duchess do inhabit one place at one time—most notably, the Duke of Newcastle's body.³⁷ Contrary to the position taken in the *Sociable Letters*, this peculiar scenario confutes Cavendish's earlier hypothesis of an originary space devoid of matter in which discrete bodies jostle either to "enter" or "leave." If space can be imagined as void of matter or body, then it is also possible for bodies to be separated in and by space. The cohabitation of two bodies in a space from which they are not

essentially distinct assumes, rather, the identity of space and bodies. “Full Matter” has room for neither empty, bodiless pockets nor discrete bodies that rush in to fill them.

The Empress’s contention that experimental philosophers “could by no means contrive such Glasses, by the help of which they could spy out a *Vacuum*” (174) is a comment on the inadequacy of these instruments. More importantly, though, it is a comment on their superfluousness. Remarking the absurdity of trying to see a *nothing*, Cavendish implicitly rejects the idea that a vacuum, or nothing, might intercede between even the most minute parts of matter. In the *Grounds of Natural Philosophy*, Cavendish revised her opinion about vacuism more explicitly. In this text, the “great Confusion” of monism is discussed in terms of the “Unity” necessary for “Order,” and “Body” and “Place” are “but one thing” (4). As Cavendish’s initial refutation of plenism suggests, the identification of place and body entails an incessant negotiation and readjustment of matter; if one part moves, other parts are also compelled to move, displacing and replacing one another. Such continuous readjustment, where no part of matter is unaffected by the movement of another, implies that matter is not in fact made up of “parts” in any clear sense, for, as Spinoza argues, “of things which are really distinct from one another, one can be, *and remain in its condition*, without the other” (I, P15, Schol. IV, emphasis mine). Of the absurdity of supposing substance is comprised of impassible “parts,” Spinoza writes, “all those who know that clear reason is infallible must confess [it]—particularly those who deny that there is a vacuum. For if corporeal substance could be so divided that its parts were really distinct, why, then, could one part not be annihilated, the rest remaining connected with one another as before?” (I, P15, Schol. IV).

To refute the existence of a vacuum in nature is also to take aim at the technology devised to prove it. According to Shapin and Schaffer, the air pump from which all matter might be evacuated is also an emblem of space from which economic, racial and/or gender differences are excluded. Insofar as the integrity of knowledge was to some degree contingent on the integrity of the instrument itself, that instrument’s lack of integrity might signal the interdependence of the “parts” of all matter.³⁸ Put another way, the pump’s failure to prove the existence of a vacuum emblemizes a broader failure to secure the distinction between inside and outside upon which the new science relied. This is not to say that the social exclusivity of “the world of scientific gentlemen” was illusory, but rather that it was instrumental to the social imaginaries we more or less critically inhabit.³⁹

What exactly it means to distinguish social and ipso facto gendered ways of life as either “natural” or “instrumental” remains a historically and philosophically contentious question.⁴⁰ That said, the more important point here is that this distinction is not easily sustained when considered within the framework of Cavendish’s thought, even as it may be obscured by the conventional poses sometimes assumed by her critique of experimental

science. In the preface to the *Observations*, for instance, she identifies herself with same “Nature” she purports to describe: “I do not applaud myself so much, as to think, that my work can be without errors, for Nature is not a Deity, but her parts are often irregular” (217). This apparently untroubled and incidental identification with the errant, feminized “Nature” of experimental science would, one might well suppose, disqualify her as a credible observer. On the other hand, it articulates her more pointed contention that the natural world ought not be viewed as an “other” space separate from the individual’s body and “private” speculations, or (figuratively speaking) as a vacuum ready to be filled and newly populated.

For Cavendish as for Spinoza, we are a part of the nature we observe, and our observations of it follow rather than disturb its order—or, for that matter, its disorder. Parts, whether atoms or individuals, are inextricable from the whole by which they are comprised. Thus if nature is irregular our observations of it will also be irregular and no less subject to error. As the Empress and Duchess’s *folie à deux* proposes, “the distinction between subsisting in it self, and subsisting in another body, is a meer nicety, and non-sense” (180). The “mere nicety” to which Cavendish is referring is defined in the *Ethics* as a “modal” distinction. According to this definition, water, subsisting in itself as water, can be divided into discrete parts: that is to say, “particular Parts so divided and joyned to and from other particular Parts and Societies” (*Grounds*, 256). Conversely, water regarded as corporeal substance is “neither separated nor divided . . . neither generated nor corrupted” (*Ethics*, I, P15, Schol. V). Together with the relegation of distinction to modality, the substantive inseparability of parts threatens integrated “societies,” including those comprised in and by an individual subject (cf. *Grounds*, 258). For Spinoza, a body “requires a great many other bodies to conserve itself” (I, P39), including air, water and food, but also other human bodies and human society itself.⁴¹ Similarly, for Cavendish “there is nothing in Nature that can subsist of, or by it self, (. . . singly) by reason all parts of Nature are composed in one body” (180).

Despite the radical interdependence of bodies upon which Cavendish’s monism insists, many compelling critical engagements with her thought persist in taking the individual, autotelic subject as the primary unit of sociopolitical organization.⁴² Addressing the counterintuitive conjunction of protofeminism and conservative politics in Cavendish’s work, Catherine Gallagher argues that “the ideology of absolute monarchy provides, in particular historical situations, a transition to an ideology of the absolute self.”⁴³ According to Gallagher, the heightened subjectivity of this self—a “kingdom” not only within but also modeled on the actual kingdom without—is a response to “[exclusion] from political subjecthood.”⁴⁴ This argument has the virtue of demonstrating the metaphorical work performed by Cavendish’s self-authoring as “Margaret the First,” illuminating *The Blazing World*’s latent tension between a quasi-monarchical self-assertion imaginatively played out and its underlying philosophical commitment to

demonstrating the illusory and ultimately incoherent nature of such assertions. However, the argument is unbalanced by its emphasis on the former. “[The] more grandiose the metaphor of the microcosmic monadic self,” Gallagher remarks, “the more pluralized an entity the individual becomes,” and this relation highlights “the [text’s] slippage . . . from figures of singularity to images of infinite plurality.”⁴⁵ Whatever the slippages between them, though, “singularity” and “plurality” are trumped by Cavendish’s hypothesis of the infinitude of nature. Minimizing the efforts Cavendish makes to move beyond an inside-outside dichotomy, Gallagher is led to locate her in an infinitely recessive interior immune to the continual renegotiations and displacements of natural-cum-social operations.

Ultimately, the trouble with Gallagher’s analysis of Cavendish’s “monadic self” is that it takes a putatively Cartesian model of subjectivity as its unacknowledged point of departure. By reading the slippage to “infinite plurality” as an “infinite regression” of worlds within worlds (31) and aligning the *Blazing World* with Descartes’s so-called methodological solipsism, it elides Cavendish’s monist materialism and, concomitantly, the limited nature of individual capacity, whether intellectual or physical. Cartesian dualism does allow that reality can be explained in purely material terms—as it were, from within one side of the dualist structure, leaving *res cogitans* out of it. However, this speculative possibility has proven no match for the ready and tenacious reading of Descartes according to which the self-assertiveness of reason realized by an effectual will reigns uncontested.⁴⁶

For Spinoza, the assumption that individuals can control their thought processes veers uncomfortably close to a “Stoic” faith that our affects “depend entirely on our will, and that we can,” like monarchs to ourselves, “command them absolutely” and “acquire an absolute dominion over our passions” (*Ethics*, V, Preface). This same assumption governs Gallagher’s reading of *The Blazing World*: “In Cavendish’s works, the private realm is not simply country retirement, nor it is the sphere of the family, nor the scene of domestic productivity, nor the space of erotic encounter. It is, rather, absolute privacy, void of other bodies and empty even of other minds.”⁴⁷ Yet, as I have been arguing, the notion of an inviolate body or mind, whether social or material, is exuberantly dismantled by *The Blazing World*. Even the “Platonic” mingling of the Empress’s and Duchess’s souls—which cannot be Platonic in a strict sense since these are not, strictly speaking, disembodied souls—undoes the notion of absolute privacy: a “cultural fantasy,” as David Hillman notes, “of a pure, privileged interior strictly separable from external contamination.”⁴⁸ That there could be a space evacuated of other bodies, let alone other minds, is something Cavendish only tempts us to imagine. By her lights, the limitations of subjective power are always in evidence, for “though Self-moving Parts have a Free-will to move; yet, being Subject to Obstructions, they must move as they can: for, no particular Part hath absolute Power” (*Grounds*, 257).⁴⁹ Given the limitations of subjective power, power will necessarily be exerted in the

absence of, and even at the expense of, consent. If “no particular Part hath absolute Power” (*Grounds*, 257), contractual obligation cannot be entered into freely. Nor can it secure the binding power premised on freedom and autonomy. For both Cavendish and Spinoza, intellectual endeavors are constrained by material force. Political aspirations are likewise constrained. Absent a broadly liberal discourse of freedom and its foundational contract-theory, the question of how to achieve political consolidation will be answered precipitously, and in advance.

According to John Rogers, the material constraint upon which monism insists contributes to, or even constitutes, what he describes as “the failure of Cavendish’s texts to extend their revolutionary conclusions from the world of material particles”—where a body’s motion is understood as a “freely willed ‘self-moving’”—“to the world of human beings”: that is, to the sociopolitical world in which a body is forcefully “occasioned” to move.⁵⁰ Consequently, he argues, the “ethical discourse of *choice*” he extrapolates from her “vitalist” natural philosophy “functions . . . as Cavendish’s sanguine reconfiguration of the political discourse of consent.”⁵¹ For Rogers, who wants to read Cavendish as a protoliberal quasi-republican for whom choice and consent would be pivotal, individuals remain caught within a “destiny” of force.

It is perhaps tempting to diagnose this paralysis as a relatively simple misidentification of the body politic with the individual’s body,⁵² but this diagnosis is neither particularly clarifying nor useful. Instead of affording at least the conceptual means to sequester the individual from external determination and the violent crash of occasion, it only locates the political impasse of individualism more squarely. For, by the very logic of analogy, the force that determines the shape of the polity will equally be operative on (and through) its constitutive, individual bodies or “parts.” By imagining the individual and the sociopolitical world as analogical structures, the individual’s consensual, formative participation in that world is not bridged but blocked. To identify the individual as materially “free” only restages the question of its relationship to the social totality. In this case, the difference between them is not only temporal (that is, once the time of enumeration elapses we will have arrived at totality), but substantive (that is, the voluntarism of the individual is analogous but fundamentally inassimilable to political unity).

Through tacit acceptance of the familiar analogy of the private individual and the body politic, Rogers is drawn toward a bivalent understanding of subjectivity as both embodied and strenuously individuated: a compensatory and more or less imaginative realization of the freedom that is denied to it in fact. According to Rogers, “[the] degree of liberty and power that we can attribute to bodies of matter depends almost entirely on whether we view them, as the scientific members of the Royal Society might have viewed them, from the outside, as objects of the empirical world; or whether we view them . . . from the inside, as free inhabitants of

the invisible world of material parts.”⁵³ No doubt these two alternatives inform the degree of liberty and power we can attribute to bodies. But if, as I have been arguing, Cavendish’s view is neither strictly internalist nor externalist, individual power needn’t be confined to a negative space of liberty defined as the absence of external coercion. The binary structure comprised by Cavendish’s competing empirical/externalist and rationalist/internalist perspectives might very well reproduce “the conceptual antinomy of the public and the private spheres of human activity,”⁵⁴ but it cannot do justice to the apparent contradictions that, as Rogers opines, fissure her philosophy.⁵⁵ That philosophy should be understood as a speculative retort to rather than a mechanical reproduction of this antinomy. While it is certainly not free of these tensions or impasses, it represents a compelling attempt to think around them.

Rogers nevertheless correctly identifies a certain “fatalism” in Cavendish’s thought, where right amounts (or reduces) to might. Given the unlimited force of contingent “occasion,” absolute power, imagined as a space impervious to external influence, is revealed as “a juridical fiction . . . based on the separation of the sovereign’s rights from his power.”⁵⁶ Because material power is understood as right, and as sovereign right a fortiori, it can neither be surrendered nor transferred; it must be taken by force. Where power is self-legitimizing, a political ruler is “legitimate” simply to the extent that he holds it. In this case, women (who are, according to Spinoza and Cavendish, naturally inferior in both physical strength and intellect) would seem irredeemably to forfeit “right” and be preempted from holding political power.

As Montag concludes from his reading of Spinoza, a materialized sovereign power seized by force must also compel either by love or by fear,⁵⁷ much as the Empress commands her subjects and the Emperor himself not through a transcendental claim to right, but through a love inspired and secured by her powerful beauty. In this respect, to view power as its own legitimation and “right” in terms of might is at least no less prohibitive than a contractual model of right. In fact, contractualism, subtended by transcendental claims about who may and may not enter into a contract, may even prove *more* prohibitive by effectively determining sovereignty in advance.⁵⁸ With this in mind, the coincidence of royalism and feminism may appear less counterintuitive than many of Cavendish’s readers suppose. Whereas even the more radical contingents of antiroyalist agitation denied the enfranchisement of women in a new political order, absolutism at least acknowledged actual compulsion in a way that liberal theories of political order, which postulate an essentially free and autonomous subject, do not.

The Empress’s abduction dramatizes the undeniably superior (that is, masculine) force of her abductor. Once in the Blazing-World, however, her sovereignty is secured by compelling spectacles of her charismatic power, for which her emphatic beauty serves merely as a generic metaphor: “both Males and Females, young and old, flockt together to see this Lady, holding

up their paws in admiration" (157). The Emperor's response is similarly worshipful and visually elicited:

No sooner was the Lady brought before [him], but he conceived her to be some Goddess, and offered to worship her; which she refused, telling him . . . that although she came out of another world, yet was she but a mortal; at which the Emperor rejoycing, made her his Wife, and gave her an absolute power to rule and govern all that World as she pleased. (162)

As if to emphasize the extent to which this power is a material achievement, rather than something secured by putatively transcendental claims or superstitious belief, Cavendish offers a lengthy description of the Empress's gaudy "accoutrement." Abetted by the visually ravishing, jewel-encrusted architecture of her empire and her charismatic preaching, the Empress submits the citizens of the Blazing-World to her will and to conformity with her convictions: "thus the Empress, by Art, and her own ingenuity, did not onely convert the Blazing-World to her own Religion, but kept them in a constant belief, without inforcement or blood-shed" (193). Strictly speaking, her power is not mounted on physical force and its pacifying fear, but it is ably served by a cognate form of compulsion. Especially when heightened by optical technologies, "Love" is the surer "means to keep [her subjects] to their duties" (193).

The boundary between the "imaginative space" of the Blazing-World and the relatively "real space" of "E S F I"—an acronym for the countries of which Charles II was said to be king: England, Scotland, France and Ireland—is again transgressed when the Empress leaves the former to "save her Native Countrey," hoping to make it "the absolute Monarchy of all that World" (241). This imperial project is unambiguously conducted by force. It deploys not only the physical might of armies of cross-species men, but also the same optical technology whose application to the *natural* world the Empress had disputed. (For example, telescopes are used to spy out which cities remain to be conquered.) Like the Empress's ascendancy over the Blazing-World, the imperial project is also furthered by the public display of her renowned beauty and the love it uniformly commands: "both the effects of her Power and Beauty did kindle a great desire in all the greatest Princes to see her . . . they all entreated the favor, that they might wait on her Majesty before she went" (241–242). Through the careful orchestration of an otherwise variegated perceptual field, the Empress grants their desire. Having requested that the princes' ships gather around a large compass of open water, by some undisclosed feat of technology she then appears "upon the face of the Water in her Imperial Robes," her hair studded with "Star-Stone" (242). She lights "Fire-Stones" "which make both Air and Seas appear of a bright shining flame, insomuch as they put all Spectators into an extream fright, who verily believed, they should all be destroyed"

(242). The impact of the Empress's dazzling, disorienting spectacle is powerful and immediate:

[It] caused a great admiration in all that were present, who believed her to be some Celestial Creature . . . and they all had a desire to worship her; for surely, said they, no mortal creature can have such a splendid and transcendent beauty, nor can any have so great a power as she has, to walk upon the Waters, and to destroy whatever she pleases, not onely whole Nations, but a whole World. (242)

Before she returns to the more benign spectacle of her person clothed in "Garments of Light," she "kindles" her subjects' desire, inflaming it to the point of fear. Recalling the fires used to destroy whichever cities initially resisted her rule, the Empress's incendiary allure, like her Blazing-World more generally, connects erotic force to other, more obviously brutal manifestations of power. *The Blazing World's* presentation of political power clarifies Cavendish's critique of experimental science insofar as it illustrates the inextricability of philosophy and politics but—crucially—without falsifying either as relativistic enterprises.

As I have argued, this critique hinges on Cavendish's skepticism about the senses'—and especially sight's—ability to register anything essential about the object that impresses them. To this external engagement with the object of knowledge, she opposes the internal apprehension of mental representations: "the perception of Sight, when awake, is made on the outside of the Eye, but in sleep on the inside; and as for some sorts of Thoughts or Conceptions . . . they are to my apprehension made in the inner part of the head."⁵⁹ The Empress's spectacular technologies are "exterior" by contrast; they invite a perception of her exterior that is also "made on the outside [that is, surface] of the eye." Nevertheless, such perception is qualitatively different from the stance claimed by experimental science. It acknowledges the force that is in fact operative in both, and admits exteriority only at the price of its antinomic other. By setting the Empress's visual technologies on a continuum with those of the new science, Cavendish insists that empirical discoveries are as indebted to special effects as the Empress's art of power.

As Cavendish's satirical deflation of Hooke's faith that a naked but modest eye can "[dive] deeper, beneath Nature's paint and laces" suggests,⁶⁰ what seems plain to the naked eye is in fact not plain at all. So long as one relies on a distinction between inside and outside, she proposes, the inside will always prove elusive. By stripping accidental bodily relations of presumptive certainty, she dispels the myth of plain seeing and naked eyes. Her spectacular portrait of the brilliant but refractory Empress argues the same point, albeit from a political rather than a narrowly scientific vantage. Far from denying the efficacy of external force or coercion, she emphatically admits it into her Blazing-World. Like all the "blazing" of *The Blazing World*, the Empress's powerful self-display obstructs empiricism's

anatomizing gaze. Repulsing attempts to penetrate nature's laces and paint, its reveals this gaze to be forcefully oriented toward—or, *sive*, disoriented by—objects that hide even surfaces within a splendid constellation of lights. To the empiricist's ideal of nature laid bare before him and surrendering its own self-evidence, Cavendish opposes, in the figure of the Empress, a matrix of culture that persuades by force. This figure of sovereign power is clearly not transparent, but it does describe a world: a density inassimilable to insularity or insular social structures, and to the faith that they are viable, or desirable.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is for Jonathan Goldberg, finally.

NOTES

1. This “modest witness” is the protagonist of Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer's study of seventeenth-century experimental science, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985; new ed., 2011), and of Donna Haraway's *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan_Meets_OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997).
2. Collected in *Paper Bodies: A Margaret Cavendish Reader*, ed. Sylvia Bowerbank and Sara Mendelson (Peterborough: Broadview Press Ltd., 2000). Unless otherwise noted, all quotations of Cavendish are from this text.
3. Eve Keller argues that when Cavendish “is allowed by her fantasy to be an insider, [her] gender critique vanishes before a non-critical engagement with the privileges and pleasures of her class.” See Eve Keller, “Producing Petty Gods: Margaret Cavendish's Critique of Experimental Science,” *ELH* 64, no. 2 (1997): 466.
4. For a cognate account of what passes as “merely . . . formal” in Cavendish's writing, see Jonathan Goldberg. “Margaret Cavendish, Scribe,” *GLQ* 10, no. 3 (2004): 444.
5. Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, 80.
6. Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan_Meets_OncoMouse*, 24.
7. Ibid. For an analysis of scientific culture that complicates and enriches this picture, see Bruno Latour's *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
8. Daniel Tiffany, in his *Toy Medium*, offers a less conventional account of the matter of experimental science. Contrary to the strongest claims of that science, Tiffany argues that it takes as its object *invisible bodies* (atoms), an invisible “essence” to which “existence” is excessive. See Daniel Tiffany, *Toy Medium: Materialism and Modern Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 169. As I shall show, the perception that “atomism posited an occult and imaginary world of its own” constitutes part of Cavendish's critique of experimental science, which she articulates in her own “occult and imaginary” *Blazing World*.

9. Robert Hooke, *Extracts from Micrographia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd., 1894), 11.
10. Compare Cavendish's *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*: "experimental and mechanic philosophy cannot be above the speculative part, by reason most experiments have their rise from the speculative, so that the artist or mechanic is but a servant to the student" (49).
11. He might also be called more precisely a *regnum patrimoniale* within a *regnum patrimonial*. The phrase is Robert Filmer's.
12. I have modified Curley's translation of *imperium in imperio* as "dominion within a dominion." See Benedict de Spinoza, *Ethics*, ed. and trans. Edwin Curley (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1996), 68. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations of Spinoza are from this text.
13. Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 252.
14. According to Boyle, for example, nitre and the spirit of nitre are separable and indistinct. This is explicit heterogeneity. Implicit heterogeneity would include the distinction between subjects and objects of science. Cf. Richard McKeon, *The Philosophy of Spinoza: The Unity of His Thought* (London: Longmans Green, 1928; reprint Woodbridge CT: Ox Bow Press, 1987), 153.
15. McKeon, *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, 155–156.
16. Cavendish followed the court of Henrietta Maria to Paris in 1644 and resided in Antwerp from 1648 until the Restoration. While she read neither Latin nor French, she might well have learned of Spinoza from the philosophers who frequented Lord Cavendish's continental residences. The *Ethics* was not published until 1677, but it was circulating in manuscript form during the early to mid-1660s in Paris and Amsterdam.
17. See Allen Grossman, *True-Love: Essays on Poetry and Valuing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 15–37.
18. John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry, and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 205.
19. Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution*, 207.
20. McKeon, *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, 136.
21. Hans Blumberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence*, trans. Steven Randall (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).
22. Mary Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 206.
23. Cf. *ibid.*, 182.
24. In David Hillman's words, for Cavendish the paradoxical nature of anatomy was manifest insofar as its "intrusions into the deepest layers of the human body inevitably transformed the interior of the body into external, objectivized matter" (310–311).
25. Steven Mullaney, this volume.
26. Cavendish's admission of "parts" marks a difference between her monism and Spinoza's, but, as I will explain below, the admission is heavily qualified.
27. Cf. John Milton, *Areopagitica*, in *Paradise Lost: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. Gordon Tesky (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 353–354. Such prudish sequestration, Milton argues, can neither join nor regulate "the mixed conversation of our youth, male and female together"; it "will not mend our condition."
28. "Cavendish's 'Nature' therefore does not mandate any particular form of relationship, because all will necessarily be part of nature." See Goldberg, "Margaret Cavendish, Scribe," 448.

29. In his lecture on Spinoza (February 17, 1981), Deleuze makes a similar point: "The thought of relation as pure relation [that is, a relation that is independent of its terms] can only be made in reference to the infinite." See Gilles Deleuze, "Seminar Sessions on Spinoza," trans. Timothy S. Murphy, accessed February 14, 2006, <http://www.webdeleuze.com/TXT/091280.html>.
30. In his *mise-en-scene* of the history of seventeenth-century philosophy, Stephen Menn notes that while "some philosophers were accused of atheism for no good reason at all, it seems that there was a real tendency of thought which understood God's nature and relation to the world in a way incompatible with orthodox Christianity. Instead of calling this tendency 'atheism', we call it 'naturalism'; but this remains a blank symbol waiting to be given a meaning" (64).
31. Ralph Cudworth, for one, accused Cavendish of atheism (cf. Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution*, 189).
32. In this respect, the imaginative enterprise of *The Blazing World* departs from the materialism of Hobbes's *De corpore*: "The extension of a body, is the same thing with the magnitude of it, or that which some call real space. But this magnitude does not depend upon our cognition, as imaginary space doth; for this is an effect of our imagination, but magnitude is the cause of it; this is an accident of the mind, that of a body existing out of the mind" (*De corpore*, London: Printed by R & W Leybourn, for Andrew Crocke, at the Green Dragon in Pauls Church-Yard, 1656), Part 2, Ch. VIII, 76. From this materialist perspective, *The Blazing World*'s "imaginary space" is merely "an accident of the mind" or *animi accidens*.
33. For this reading, see Catherine Gallagher, "Embracing the Absolute: The Politics of the Female Subject in Seventeenth Century England," *Genders* 1 (March 1988): 26. I shall examine her argument more closely below.
34. More wrote his own *Conjectura Cabbalistia* (1653) but, fearing that its contribution to Christianity was too slight and its philosophy too materialist, he later repudiated Kabbala. Cf. Allison Coudert, "A Cambridge Platonist's Kabbalist Nightmare," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, no. 4 (October–December 1975): 647–648.
35. According to the Empress's Spirit-Guides, this dualist view makes human beings "Hermaphrodites of Nature" (202), at once "inside" and "outside," both female and male. At least in this context, hermaphroditism posits these as ontological, nonnegotiable distinctions: discrete forces in conflict within a single agonized body.
36. See Goldberg, "Margaret Cavendish, Scribe," 449. Here Goldberg cites Cavendish's *Observations* (p. 182): "Thought is a rational touch, as touch is a sensitive thought."
37. When the Empress and the Duchess travel to Nottinghamshire, the Duchess "left her aerial Vehicle and entered into her Lord. The Emperess's soul perceiving this, did the like: . . . and had there been some such souls more, the Duke would have been like the Grand-Signior in his Seragilo, onely it would have been a Platonick Seraglio" (222).
38. According to Shapin and Schaffer, Boyle (or rather the glassmakers in his employ) could not produce an adequately fine and impervious substance, despite numerous attempts to do so.
39. Cf. Haraway, 28.
40. Cf. *ibid.*, 28.
41. Cf. Warren Montag, *Bodies, Masses, Power: Spinoza and His Contemporaries* (London: Verso, 1999), 33.
42. Notable recent exceptions include Harris and Goldberg.
43. Gallagher, 25.

44. Ibid., 28.
45. Ibid., 30.
46. Cf. Margaret Jacobs, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981), 42.
47. Gallagher, 30.
48. Hillman, "The Inside Story," 310.
49. This comes from a section of the *Grounds for Natural Philosophy* concerning the question of "*Whether the Parts of one and the Same Society, could, after their Dissolution, meet and unite.*" Spinoza is also interested in this question, and answers it affirmatively: "*If, of a body, or of an individual, which is composed of a number of bodies, some are removed, and at the same time as many others of the same nature take their place, the [body, or the] individual will retain its nature, as before*" (*Ethics*, II, P13, L4). Cavendish is less certain on the issue.
50. Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution*, 204–205.
51. Ibid., 205.
52. Especially given Hobbes's Janus-faced career in the history of modern political thought, it is possible to read the *Leviathan* along the same lines. Notwithstanding its wrong-headed Lacanian gloss, see, for example, Mary Severance, "Sex and the Social Contract," *ELH* 67 (2000): 453–513.
53. Rogers, 207.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Montag, *Bodies, Masses, Power*, 91–92.
57. I have extracted this point from Montag's larger argument about the relation between the multitude and the state (cf. 70).
58. This assumes that the contractual model of the relation between the state and the individual is as patriarchal as Robert Filmer's absolutism. It is not obviously so for Hobbes, who sets everyone—women and children included—on equal footing in order to keep the family as an analytical unit within a warring state of nature, but not itself a site of war (cf. Montag, *Bodies, Masses, Power*, 96).
59. Cf. Campbell, *Wonder and Science*, 207.
60. Ibid., 194.

13 The Reformation of Space in Shakespeare's Playhouse

Paul Yachnin

How did Shakespeare contribute to the reformation of social space in early modern England? My claim here is that the early modern English theater helped create a public life for those the period would have called “private” people and that the theater achieved this innovation by making space public in new ways for new inhabitants, especially by changing the ways ordinary people saw and were seen. On this account, public space is something people make rather than something simply given, and one way that they make space public is by how they look at each other and the world and by how they make their appearance to others. The new configuration of space and vision and the new practices of looking in the playhouse trained the assembled playgoers to form complex, collaborative and self-disclosing judgments. Not that the rethinking of public space in the playhouse translated into a wholesale change in early modern social spatiality. My general argument, and that of the members of the Making Publics project, is that the publics of theater, science, visual art, music and so on introduced new forms of association, language, identity and space; together, these publics wrought deep and durable social changes, among which was a shift in the relationship between the zones of the private and the public, which led to a corresponding advancement in the social condition of private people.¹

The word “private,” then as now, had a wide range of meanings, but a strong sense in early modernity, one connected with the Latin *privatus* (deprived), referred to low social status (as in the term “private” for the lowest military rank), and generally to those who neither held public office nor were of noble lineage—those who were “nobodies” rather than “somebodies.”² A private life could involve not merely a degradation of social status but also a loss of full human personhood. “In ancient feeling,” Hannah Arendt tells us, “the privative trait of privacy . . . meant literally a state of being deprived of something, and even of the highest and most human of man’s capacities. A man who lived only a private life . . . was not fully human.”³ Shakespeare provides a poignant instance of how privacy can strip away a person’s sense of identity and value when the desperate Antony petitions his opponent Octavius Caesar to “let him breathe between

the heavens and earth / A private man in Athens" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, 3.12.14–15).⁴ In Shakespeare and John Fletcher's *Henry VIII*, the enemies of the good Archbishop Cranmer seek to undo his public standing, reduce him to the status of a "private man," and thereby open him to denunciation by a multitude of newly emboldened people:

'Tis his Highness' pleasure
And our consent, for better trial of you,
From hence you be committed to the Tower,
Where being but a private man again,
You shall know many dare accuse you boldly,
More than (I fear) you are provided for.

(5.2.87–92)

Privacy is here not a privileged space of security and intimacy but rather a condition of nakedness and defenselessness in the face of accusatory looking and speaking.

In the deference culture of early modern England, seeing and being seen were far from the untrammelled contest for vantage and notice that they are, at least notionally, in modern culture. Private people deferred to their social superiors by way of an ensemble of second-nature gestures, forms of address, yielding of place and ways of looking. People of lesser rank, the vast majority of the population, were used to doffing their hats in the presence of their social betters (as the courtier Osric does in Prince Hamlet's presence—*Hamlet*, 5.2.92–105), speaking to them with humility, moving out of their way on public thoroughfares and averting their eyes before their betters' commanding gaze. Francis Bacon was drawing on deeply engrained habits of deference when he assured the new King James that a national project for the advancement of learning would not awake a critical view of monarchical rule. Bacon told the King that he had represented him "many times unto my mind," but never "with the inquisitive eye of presumption, to discover that which Scripture telleth me is inscrutable," but rather always "with the observant eye of duty and admiration . . . and possessed with an extreme wonder."⁵

Francis Bacon, himself a public man of recognized political and legal acuity, understood well the limits on looking that subjects had to endure in the presence of a king. Even a prince could be guilty of looking with the "eye of presumption": Hamlet is being impudent, and deliberately so, when in a letter he proposes looking the King in the face: "to-morrow," he tells Claudius, "shall I beg leave to see your kingly eyes" (4.7.44–45). For private people the limits went deeper and were more general. We can get a sense of the basic relationship between commoners and public space from the 1574 order from the Mayor and Alderman of London against the assembly of "private persons," an order that reflects the widespread idea that the commoners had little right to public visibility.⁶ Or

consider the 1596 petition to the Privy Council from the inhabitants of the Blackfriars liberty against Shakespeare's company's plan to create "a common playhouse . . . which will grow to be a very great annoyance and trouble . . . by reason of great resort and gathering together of all manner of vagrant and lewd persons."⁷ Not surprisingly, the petition describes the potential of the "common playhouse" to foster ordinary people's access to public space as the gathering of a monstrously various and sinful assembly. Near the end of *Henry VIII*, a large press of ordinary people gathers to see the christening of the baby Elizabeth. The Porter, charged with keeping the palace yard open, upbraids the crowd for their presumptuous wish to see their social betters and for invading royal space as if it were "Parish Garden," a bear- and bull-baiting arena in Southwark, not far from the Globe:

You'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals; do
you take the court for Parish Garden? Ye rude slaves,
leave your gaping.

.....

Fetch me a dozen
crab-tree staves, and strong ones; these are but
switches to 'em. I'll scratch your heads; you must be
seeing christenings? Do you look for ale and cakes
here, you rude rascals?

(5.3.1–3, 7–11)⁸

In what follows, I argue that the theater created by Shakespeare and his fellows fostered a new kind of critical public space that advanced the political agency of private people. The playwrights and players rethought public spatiality in terms of private seeing and judging, and they and their customers cultivated practices that made room for ordinary people to be publicly seen seeing and responding to the plays. Again, my argument does not depend on any assumption about the theater's *general* social influence, as if changes in spatiality and looking in the playhouse were somehow translated instantly into widespread social practices. Important is how the emergence of new public-making practices in early modernity created, not a larger or more inclusive public sphere, but rather a plurality of contestatory spaces of public expression, exchange and judgment.⁹

I begin with a critical account of Arendt's ideal of public space in order to provide a sense of what might have been at stake for those excluded from public seeing and public voice in early modernity. Then I turn my attention to *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Richard II*, *Hamlet* and *Henry VIII* for what they tell us about how the texts of early modern plays, the practices of playing and playgoing and the space of the playhouse operated together to reform public space for ordinary people. I also glance at plays by Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker. The use of the word "reformation" in

my title is in part playful, but it is intended also to suggest a relationship between, on the one side, the Protestant emphasis on inward conscience and private judgment (as opposed to what Protestants characterized as the authoritarianism and showiness of the Catholic Church) and, on the other, the commercial theater's staging of private people, alone or in groups of two or three, exercising their judgment in relation to matters of public concern.¹⁰ I argue, finally, that the theatrical reformation of space drew on and elaborated another, now more common idea of "the private"—as an authentic, authoritative domain set apart from the mere busyness of the public world, a space possessed by every person, no matter what their social rank, gender or confessional identity, and therefore a more durable, various and inclusive foundation for a differently constituted public domain. We can discern something of the force of this other significance of the private when, in *Henry VIII*, the King breaks in upon the scene and rescues the Archbishop from his enemies. Giving him the "title" of "good man," Henry emphasizes precisely that aspect of Cranmer that plays no part in his social or ecclesiastical rank—"Was it discretion, lords, to let this man, / This good man (few of you deserve that title), / This honest man, wait like a lousy footboy / At chamber-door?" (5.2.172–175) The King's reference to the "lousy footboy," someone who might well be made to wait outside the door, is ironic in the context of his defense of Cranmer's value as a man rather than as a titled public person. The King's unintended irony reminds us that the category of rank remained indispensable to early modern society and that the theater's formative social creativity, in particular its reformation of space and looking, did not bring about at one stroke a wholesale revolution in the politics of personhood or spatiality.

* * *

Arendt provides us with an ideal of the personhood-conferring and communitarian dimensions of public space. For her the space of the public is the site of unmediated speaking and acting with others (the site of "sheer human togetherness") and also the place where people speak, act and appear in ways that answer the primordial question, which she says is asked of every person—"who are you?" People answer this question by having the courage to speak and act with others; and only by endeavoring to answer the question are they able to take on their authentic humanity. Another way to represent the "second life . . . *bios politicos*" that persons experience by virtue of their entry into public space is to think about how they *appear* to others. "Appearance" is a term of art in Arendt that refers to how speaking and acting tend to disclose the unique character of the agent.¹¹ It follows from these requirements regarding self-disclosing speech and action that we need the public "space of appearance" in order to achieve a proper human personhood:

The polis, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be. . . . It is the space of appearance in the widest sense of the word, namely, the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly.

This space does not always exist, and although all men are capable of deed and word, most of them—like the slave, the foreigner, and the barbarian in antiquity . . . —do not live in it. No man, moreover, can live in it all the time. To be deprived of it means to be deprived of reality, which, humanly and politically speaking, is the same as appearance. To men the reality of the world is guaranteed by the presence of others, by its appearing to all; “for what appears to all, this we call Being,” and whatever lacks this appearance comes and passes away like a dream, intimately and exclusively our own but without reality.¹²

Is it possible, we might ask, that the young Shakespeare made his way to London, in part to earn a living (perhaps he had heard something about new opportunities in the emerging entertainment business in the capital), in part to find appropriate forms and opportunities of expression for his creative energies and also in part because he found himself on a quest for the personhood-conferring public space that lies between people acting and speaking together? Certainly, that is the story that his plays tell, the arc of their action turning from sheer violence toward self-disclosing action and speech, the primary characters of the plays seeking not merely to perform plot-constituting actions but also to unfold to the world their essential natures and to speak, as it were, to the world by how they perform intelligible, justifiable actions. So, we find, Shylock seeks his revenge in the law courts rather than by subterfuge (very unlike how his predecessor, Marlowe’s Barabas, would have settled a score), Hamlet wishes for the resources of theatrical publicity more than he seeks the means of assassination and Prospero disavows violence in order to subject his enemies to a series of revelatory spectacles that culminates with the spectacular revelation of himself.

Arendt does not account for the plurality of public space or for the fact that the space of the polis is in fact the aggregation of the spaces of individual and overlapping publics.¹³ For her there must be only one “space where I appear to others as others appear to me.” She also does not discuss how publicity is, in every actual case, tilted to the advantage of some and the disadvantage of others. Shylock cannot easily make his appearance in the human world because his acts and words are misrecognized by the Christian community of Venice. The fact that there are multiple sites of publicity jostling against one another in early modern England is, ironically enough,

of a piece with the Arendtian principle of appearance: people who would never be admitted to the grand public space of the royal court can nevertheless seek to answer the primordial question "who are you?" in a court of law (as Shylock does), at a family feast in a large, mixed household (think of Katherina at the end of *The Taming of the Shrew*) or in a playhouse, which is the space of appearance that Hamlet imagines in his second soliloquy—a space that would enable him to drown the stage with tears and cleave the general ear with horrid speech.

Arendt understands well that the space of the polis is a made thing, which "arises out of acting and speaking together." She does not, however, take the full measure of the necessary changeability, multiplicity and contestability or even illegibility of the public spaces that people make. Here we can turn to Michel de Certeau's argument about how people create the spaces of the city by moving through them: "they are walkers . . . whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read. . . . The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces."¹⁴ On de Certeau's account, which shares certain features with Arendt's but is also antithetical to her ideas about personhood and publicity, public space is never fully visible (indeed never fully public), but contested and always in the process of being made by many differently minded and differently moving people.

As well as not allowing for the fluidity and plurality of public space, Arendt imagines appearance in public space as a matter of unmediated, face-to-face exchange. This view begins to look positively nostalgic when we remember that the public spaces of modernity are normally the product of the circulation of print and electronic publication and that all exchanges that constitute public spaces are influenced by the physical design of the venues (an open square, a cathedral, a coffeehouse, a playhouse) in which they occur and the practices (speech making, theatrical or musical performance, playgoing, dancing, gossiping) by which they are realized. In the emerging public of Shakespeare's theater, or of early modern science or art or music, mediatization rather than immediacy was how private persons became public and thereby acquired what Arendt describes as reality. They made their appearance in the human world precisely by *not* appearing in person; they became public and real by being carried up into the virtual space of mediated speech and action.

All these are elements of publicity that Arendt does not examine because she is writing a philosophy of personhood and public life framed as speculative history rather than a social history of public space. Their absence is not primarily a flaw in her argument as she conceives it, but rather an opening for a finer-grained understanding of how public space is created in real historical cases and in actual places. A full account of Shakespearean spatiality would thus need to consider the basic plurality of public life, the tilt of social space according to social rank, the role of forms of mediatization

such as manuscript and print publication as well as performance itself, how the players and playgoers created space by virtue of movement and vision and how the built environment of the playhouse helped give theatrical space its particular character.

* * *

In *The Magnificent Entertainment*, an account of the 1604 royal entry of King James into the city of London, Thomas Dekker describes how the different companies of the city were organized and demarcated and how those who were not members of any of the London companies, those he calls “the multitude,” were kept at a respectful distance from the entry procession and from their civic social betters:

A goodly and civil order was observed in marshalling all the Companies according to their degrees, the first beginning at the upper end of Saint Mark's Lane and the last reaching about the Conduit in Fleet Street, their seats being double-railed, upon the upper part whereon they leaned the streamers, ensigns, and bannerets of each particular Company decently fixed. And directly against them (even quite through the body of the city, so high as to Temple Bar) a single rail (in fair distance from the other) was likewise erected to put off the multitude amongst whose tongues (which in such consorts never lie still) though there be no music, yet as the poet says—Mart. *Vox diversa sonat, populorum est vox tamen una*.¹⁵

The London companies are organized internally by rank as well as in relation to each other. The multitude is kept in place by physical and social crowd control—by the barrier “quite through the body of the city” and by the awe-inspiring spectacle of the London companies with their streamers and bannerets ranked opposite the indiscriminate crowds. The people do not move but rather wait for the King and his aristocratic retinue to process into the space of the city, or what was called *camera regis*—the chamber of the king.¹⁶ In Dekker's imaginative recollection, even the talk of the crowds is disciplined. He allows that the people are noisy and disordered (“in such consorts . . . there be no music”), but affirms that in fact they speak with one voice on account of the approach of the monarch. The full aphorism reads *Vox diversa sonat: populorum est vox tamen una, cum verus patriae diceris esse pater* (There are many different voices; but there is but one voice of the peoples when you are declared to be the true father of your country.)¹⁷

At first glance, the Globe playhouse might appear as if it too were designed, like the procession route for the 1604 royal entry, to maintain “goodly and civil order.” After all, there were clearly demarcated sections for the playgoers—the yard directly in front of and around the thrust stage

where poorer playgoers could purchase standing room for a penny, the more expensive galleries above and partly encircling the yard (seats nearer the stage came with cushions and were more expensive still) and the “lords’ room,” which was the most costly and visible viewing space, most visible since it was situated behind and above the stage.¹⁸ The apparently hierarchical arrangement of playgoers in the playhouse, however, was undermined first of all by the system of paid admission: a tinker who happened to have some extra money could, if he wished, sit in the galleries or even in the space above the stage (as the tinker Christopher Sly does in the frame play of *The Taming of the Shrew*). More significantly, the playhouse tended to encourage different voices and views among the playgoers; and the arrangement of standing room and seating, the relative mobility of the playgoers within the space and the uniform daytime lighting made it easy for the playgoers to see and hear each other reacting to the play. Their contestatory responses were indeed part of the entertainment. In the city comedy *Bartholomew Fair* (1613), Ben Jonson provides a comic picture of the variety of audience response by way of a parody contract that he requires the playgoers to agree to before the play will begin:

It is further agreed that every person here, have his or their free-will of censure, to like or dislike at their own charge, the Author having now departed with his right: it shall be lawful for any man to judge his six pennorth [that is, penny worth], his twelve pennorth, so to his eighteen pence, two shillings, half a crown, to the value of his place: Provided always his place get not above his wit.¹⁹

The Prologue to *The Roaring Girl* (1611), a play that Dekker cowrote with Thomas Middleton, develops a similar view of the individuality of playgoer judgment and, incidentally, provides a neat antithesis to Dekker’s imagined single-minded multitude at the 1604 royal entry. “Each one comes,” the Prologue says to the crowd at the Fortune playhouse, “And brings a play in’s head with him: up he sums, / What he would of a roaring girl have writ—/ If that he finds not here, he mews at it.”²⁰

The cultivation (even if sometimes grudging) of judgment as one of the pleasures of playgoing was facilitated by the untrammelled expressiveness of the playgoers (they tended to be noisy and boisterous), the social mixing afforded by the playhouse with its system of paid admission and the mobile lines of sight between the stage and the audience as well as among the audience members.²¹ Shakespeare shared with fellow playwrights like Jonson and Dekker an interest in giving his audience members a sense of their own authority and capacity for judgment. Petruchio does that directly in *The Taming of the Shrew* when he outlines his wife-taming strategy and asks the playgoers for their approval and/or their suggestions (he even asks, surprisingly, for a less cruel, more charitable approach):

This is a way to kill a wife with kindness,
 And thus I'll curb her mad and headstrong humor.
 He that knows better how to tame a shrew,
 Now let him speak; 'tis charity to shew.

(4.1.208–211)

Shakespeare helped reform public space by crafting a theater of popular judgment in which the people in the playhouse, no matter where they sat or stood, were invited to judge the characters and the actions unfolding before them. A 1559 royal proclamation forbade anyone but “men of authority, learning, and wisdom” from attending plays “wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweal shall be handled or treated.”²² Shakespeare’s history plays evaded this prohibition on a massive scale by teaching critical historiography and political thinking to thousands of common playgoers and by inviting them to judge the leaders of the English past. *Richard II* (1595), to take one example, situates the playgoers as if they were the parliamentary witnesses and judges of an event of great historical importance—the deposition of a legitimate king on the grounds of the incompetence and injustice of his rule. The “deposition scene” stages the arguments of the proponents and opponents of regime change. The scene invited the late sixteenth-century audience to judge a historical action that in many ways connected with present politics—Elizabeth was an increasingly unpopular monarch, fighting (like the King in the play) a war in Ireland, losing touch with the people and facing a charismatic aristocratic rival.²³

Shakespeare’s reformation of public space had to do with how his drama privatized the space of the playhouse. As we have just seen, the space was privatized in the sense that “private” people were invited to think about and judge matters of public concern. It was privatized also by how innovations in the dramatic action and language, the organization of narrative and the styles of characterization changed how people in the playhouse looked at the characters. In the privatized, ironized public space of Shakespeare’s playhouse, judgment came to require some understanding of the inward state of others. *Richard II* begins with a court scene in which the King presents himself as an impartial judge of a dispute between two grandiloquent noblemen; it is only in the second scene that we learn that in fact the King was implicated in the dispute, that the argument was a proxy attack on his authority and that his presentation of himself was merely a performance of impartiality. The resulting retrospective ironic view of the opening scene prompts playgoers to think again about the King—to consider his words and actions more closely and to seek to fathom his inward thoughts.

The playgoers also disclosed something about themselves at the moment they were judging the characters in the play. Consider the ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*. While Petruchio’s soliloquy asks the playgoers to speak out about domestic politics, Katherine’s so-called “submission

speech,” which is the crowning moment of the play and which places her at the center of attention, makes possible a different kind of engagement. We do not know if she is simply declaring the truth and goodness of patriarchal rule, saying something she does not believe in order to save herself from more mistreatment, sharing a private joke with her husband or working out a new form of public self-expression by which she is able to address her husband, her on-stage public and the playgoers. Of course, the effect of the speech will differ from performance to performance, and the early modern rendition of the speech might have been more declarative than modern versions usually are. But the point is that the whole design of the play tends to draw our attention and the resources of our empathy and judgment toward the inward thoughts and feelings of the character Katherine. Anyone today who has seen the play can attest to how attentive audience members are to her speech and also how alert they are to the responses of others. Couples often find themselves feeling prickly with a comical, disputatious energy. The early modern theater, I suggest, with its uniform lighting, traditions of audience expressiveness and multiple sight lines, would have transformed that domestic prickliness into an exercise of judgment and self-disclosure, with the playgoers responding to Katherine and the other characters on stage and also taking account actively of the self-disclosing judgments of their fellow audience members.

Hamlet, in its first twenty years (around 1600–1620), was performed in London, at Oxford University and off the African Coast (by a group of English sailors), it was published in two quarto editions, it inspired numerous copycat versions and parodies (including a hilarious comedy with a mad footman named Hamlet) and bits of the text appeared in pamphlets, poems and other plays. Even Yorick’s skull made a comeback, though as the skull of a formerly beautiful woman, in Middleton’s dark and funny play *The Revenger’s Tragedy*. *Hamlet*’s mobility and adaptability created spaces for public dialogue among people (many of whom would not normally have been conversation partners) concerning violence and justice, the politics of gender and the state and the social politics of theater itself.²⁴ The play’s movement created what Michael Warner would call “an ongoing space of encounter for discourse,” which is one of his defining attributes of a public.²⁵

The character of that public space, which grew up by way of the multiform reproduction, citation and circulation of the play, was grounded in actual performance and viewing practices, as well as in the feel of the space of the playhouse. As it took shape at the Globe and other playhouses, theatrical public space was grounded in performances of inwardness, private seeing, conversation among private persons and individual and collective judgment. *Hamlet* is a masterpiece of the theatrical reformation of space and vision. From his first extended speech, where he declares that he has “that within which passes show” (1.2.85), Hamlet impresses us with how his private thoughts and feelings seem to be struggling toward the open air of publicity. Looking at Hamlet becomes more than merely taking stock of

his words and actions; it shifts to looking with Bacon's "inquisitive eye" in an attempt to connect with the inward man.

We can see how this works by considering Hamlet's second soliloquy, which begins with his declaration "now I am alone" (2.2.549). In the speech, he imagines what a talented actor could do with a stage and a crowd if that actor had Hamlet's own pressing need to speak his mind to the public:

What would he do
 Had he the motive and the cue for passion
 That I have? He would drown the stage with tears,
 And cleave the general ear with horrid speech,
 Make mad the guilty, and appall the free,
 Confound the ignorant, and amaze indeed
 The very faculties of eyes and ears.

(2.2.560–566)

Of course, in the fiction, Hamlet is not an actor but a real prince, he is not on stage but in a room in the castle and the thousands of playgoers at the Globe are not able to serve as Hamlet's public because they do not exist. Anyone in the playhouse who wants to reach out to Hamlet will find himself or herself in a curiously privatized and desirous relationship with the Prince. Since Hamlet does not address the members of the audience, they must (if they wish) seek him out as if they were his intimates.

Hamlet provides a model of this kind of intimacy in the colloquy between Horatio and himself that leads into the performance of "The Mousetrap." It is a perfect expression of private affinity, perhaps especially because it comes unbidden and without public occasion. "Give me that man / That is not passion's slave," he says to the evidently moved Horatio, "and I will wear him / In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart, As I do thee" (3.2.71–74).

A half line ("Something too much of this"—line 74) saves the two men from possible embarrassment and shifts the talk to the upcoming play at court. Hamlet enjoins Horatio not to watch the play, but to keep his eyes fixed on the King; Hamlet will focus on Claudius also, and after the play, the two will compare their impressions:

There is a play to-night before the King,
 One scene of it comes near the circumstance
 Which I have told thee of my father's death.
 I prithee, when thou seest that act afoot,
 Even with the very comment of thy soul
 Observe my uncle. If his occulted guilt
 Do not itself unkennel in one speech,
 It is a damned ghost that we have seen,

And my imaginations are as foul
As Vulcan's stithy. Give him heedful note,
For I mine eyes will rivet to his face,
And after we will both our judgments join
In censure of his seeming.

(3.2.75–87)

The speech gives spectators an image of their own activity as private persons whose individual attention to another person might allow them to form a shared judgment about that person, a judgment that will bear on a matter of common concern and will clarify the meaning of an apparently unfathomable situation. Hamlet asks his friend to observe the King with “the very comment of [his] soul” while he himself “rivets” his eyes to the King’s face so that they, from their different viewing positions, will be able to penetrate right through the façade of the King’s “seeming” and reach a common verdict.

In the event, the King turns out to be remarkably resistant to Hamlet’s surveillance. Hamlet is right to conclude that Claudius has revealed his guilt, but only he and Horatio (and the three thousand playgoers) can actually see this revelation. Gertrude and the other characters see the King reacting angrily to a threat from Hamlet. After all, *The Murder of Gonzago* is the story of the assassination of an uncle by his nephew rather than a representation of a fratricide. Not even Hamlet can compass his uncle’s inwardness: he fails to kill him when he has a perfectly good chance to do so because he thinks Claudius, his conscience having been caught, is deep in prayer—not the right condition for the man he says he wants to send to hell. And the playgoers are at least as perplexed as Hamlet is since they cannot be certain why Hamlet does not kill his uncle. Is he truly bent on causing the King’s damnation or does he simply recoil from the idea of slaughtering the very man that he has brought to contrition? It is up to each person to decide for himself or herself. In *Hamlet*, the privatization of public space means that public judgment will always be in the process of being made among people whose grasp of what is to be judged is influenced by their particular experiences of the world (are they ministers or soldiers?), kinds and degrees of knowledge (what do they know about the theology of salvation? do they credit Calvinist ideas about predestination?) and feelings about others (are they admirers of Hamlet? are they skeptical about his motives?). The space of the playhouse, cut across by mobile sight lines and featuring different responses to the action, is thus the very opposite of how Jürgen Habermas has described the early modern theater—as a space of “representative publicity” where the theatrical performance of monarchical, elite power was put on before a wonderstruck popular audience.²⁶

It is worth pausing here to note that *Hamlet* occasions a still broader critique of Habermas, one that indeed allows us to begin to rethink one of the conundrums of liberal public sphere theory. For Habermas, the public sphere

represents an ideal that is achieved by stripping away the particular social and individual qualities of people so that they, as complete equals, can make untrammelled “public use of their reason” in “rational-critical debate.” The “salons and coffee houses” of the eighteenth century, he says,

organized discussion among private people that tended to be ongoing . . . they preserved a kind of social intercourse that, far from presupposing the equality of status, disregarded status altogether. The tendency replaced the celebration of rank with a tact befitting equals. The parity on whose basis alone the authority of the better argument could assert itself against that of social hierarchy and in the end [could] carry the day meant, in the thought of the day, the parity of “common humanity.”²⁷

Recent critiques of Habermas have pointed to how this ideal of stripped-down personhood and the use of reason in an apparently neutral public space can mask the persistence of inequality or even serve as a strategy of oppression.²⁸ Michael Warner argues that the public sphere is not neutral but is in fact constituted by the very division of the world into private and public zones that has relegated women to the space of the home and gays and lesbians to the closet:

Because this is the field that people want to transform, it is not possible to assume the habitus according to which rational-critical debate is a neutral, relatively disembodied procedure for addressing common concerns, while embodied life is assumed to be private, local, or merely affective and expressive. The styles by which people assume public relevance are themselves contested. The ability to bracket one’s embodiment and status is not simply what Habermas calls making public use of one’s reason; it is a strategy of distinction, profoundly linked to education and to dominant forms of masculinity.²⁹

How can people speak in public space when what they want to say seems to belong irreducibly to their private or even secret lives? Warner develops a way out of this apparent impasse by elaborating a theory of publics and by recruiting Arendt’s ideas about publicity and personhood. I suggest that Shakespeare anticipates the direction of Warner’s thinking and also adds a particularly valuable insight about the social creativity of playacting. We remember that Hamlet has no evidence to adduce in public against the King. “I must hold my tongue” (1.2.159), he says in his first soliloquy; and later, when again alone, “I . . . can say nothing” (2.2.566–569). Nevertheless he finds a public voice through the riddling speech, madcap costume and outlandish actions associated with Shakespeare’s clowns as well as by staging an actual play. In *Hamlet* and other plays, Shakespeare provides a model of a more inclusive, mobile and playful public space in which people of all

kinds can achieve voice and visibility. Shakespeare does not require people to leave their social, sexual, gendered or confessional identities, or their personal histories, at the playhouse door in order to take part in debates and judgments about matters of common concern; on the contrary, playgoers are expected to bring their embodied, social and biographical selves with them into the playhouse and indeed are invited to disclose themselves in their responses to the action and to each other. The playhouse was able to develop this innovative kind of public space, which over time changed the shape of the whole society, in part because it was not taken seriously as a public institution but was viewed as a space for merely private people to play, to “gape” at their betters and to show off.

* * *

By way of conclusion, let us consider a remarkable incident that took place at the Globe more than a decade after Shakespeare's death. In 1628, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, commissioned Shakespeare's company to perform *Henry VIII*. According to Peter Lake and Thomas Cogswell, the performance was part of a public relations campaign undertaken by the powerful but unpopular Duke.³⁰ That the favorite of the King sought the support of a popular audience indicates that changes were afoot in the idea about who counted as public persons and about just what the public was.

Buckingham appeared at the Globe with a glittering retinue and took his place, likely in the lords' room, above and behind the stage and thus in full view of the yard and galleries. He remained in his place and in view until the play's heroic and unjustly condemned Buckingham made his exit to the scaffold; then the real Buckingham, with his retinue in tow, made his exit also. The point was apparently to associate the Duke with the virtuous Buckingham of the play. The Duke might have expected that his spectacular projection of himself onto the Henrician Buckingham would have influenced the opinions of the crowd in the playhouse and that the playhouse might in turn have operated as a vector for the dissemination of a Shakespearean rebranding of the Duke.

In the event, one news writer reported that many had said that Buckingham should have stayed at least until after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, the play's villainous councilor, a comment that suggests the unsuitability of the playhouse as an instrument of aristocratic propaganda. Playhouse looking could not be controlled, not even by as impressive a figure as Buckingham. Note how the reporter, by his phrase “some say,” references an anonymous network of talk, and note also how open to interpretation are the visually lined-up figures of Villiers in the lords' room and Buckingham and Cardinal Wolsey on the stage:

On Tuesday his Grace was present at the acting of K. Hen. 8 at the Globe, a play bespoken of purpose by himself; whereat he stayed till

the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded, and then departed. Some say, he should rather have seen the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, who was a more lively type of himself, having governed this kingdom 18 years, as he hath done 14.³¹

The Duke was evidently performing a spectacular version of the kind of self-disclosing judgment that we have been discussing. But as the news writer's report makes clear, he was not the only person at the play who was able to achieve voice and visibility. Imagine that you are among those "some" that are speaking their judgments about the Duke's sudden exit. You are standing in the yard. You can see the actor playing Buckingham, and you can also see the real Buckingham in the lords' room. Another person watching from the gallery will have a different view of the two Buckinghams, and he might also have a view of you and you of him as you each observe the actor Duke and the real Duke. You and the other playgoers can exchange information and compare judgments by a mere glance or gesture; you can easily disclose your responses to each other, forming a brief alliance or contest of vision and judgment in the moment of the scene. Taken together across the whole audience, these multiple exchanges are able to undermine the Duke's public relations pitch. Irony in the theatrical field of vision undoes his design.³²

How did you and your fellow playgoers acquire these critical skills? I have been arguing that the plays, players and the playhouse itself cultivated a new kind of public space. This play, for one thing, is exemplary of how the language of the drama educated its audience. The play is filled with news, gossip and popular "talk." "What news?" says one character; "none but the new proclamation," says another (1.3.16–17). Buckingham's disloyal surveyor testifies that his lord demanded to know "What was the speech among the Londoners / Concerning the French journey" (1.2.154–155). "These news are every where," says the Lord Chamberlain about the King's impending divorce from Katherine, "every tongue speaks 'em" (2.2.38). The play also teaches its audience to listen for irony. The Lord Chamberlain and the Duke of Norfolk comment on the divorce and the rumored marriage of the King to Anne Bullen:

Chamberlain

It seems the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

Suffolk

No, his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.

2.2.16–18

When, at the end of the same scene, the King protests to Wolsey that he must go through with the divorce because of the imputed incestuousness of

the marriage, his references to “conscience” resonate ironically with Suffolk’s turning of the word (an irony heightened by the King’s own reference to “a tender place”):

Would it not grieve an able man to leave
So sweet a bedfellow? But conscience, conscience!
O, ‘tis a tender place, and I must leave her.

2.2.141–143

The play, finally, models how private people can create public space and suggests something about the character of that space. Two unnamed gentlemen—not commoners, but private persons nonetheless—frame the scene of the Duke of Buckingham’s last appearance in the play. Their namelessness allows them to represent members of the urban public. They stand in the street, which is public in a weak sense, since it is outside rather than inside, but not a center of everyone’s attention. They conduct a private conversation. They are competitive with each other in terms of insider knowledge of the court. The first Gentleman was present at the trial of the Duke and recounts it to his interlocutor. They stand aside when Buckingham enters to give his final speech. After the Duke’s exit, the two men jockey for social advantage by seeing which of them has better gossip about the King. They are, however, also sharing political information, comparing how they see the events unfolding before them, and beginning to develop a conjoint political judgment. They put aside their competition in order to share their knowledge and assessment of Wolsey’s conspiracy against Queen Katherine. At the very moment, however, when they feel themselves about to become public judges of the great, their views open to anyone, they retreat back into the private, even the radical privacy of thinking (as opposed to speaking):

2. *Gent.*

I think you have hit the mark; but is’t not cruel
That she should feel the smart of this? The Cardinal
Will have his will, and she must fall.

1. *Gent.*

‘Tis woeful.
We are too open here to argue this;
Let’s think in private more.

2.1.165–169

The approximately three thousand playgoers at the Globe in 1628 negotiated privacy and publicity in more creative ways than do the two gentlemen in the play. The members of the audience shared their judgments of the great, including the real-life Duke of Buckingham, by means of thousands of transient, private, self-disclosing gestures and utterances, comprising

laughter, weeping, cheering, indications of belief or disbelief, disgust, approbation, speaking back to the players and to each other, changing their place in the playhouse and so on. They pieced their collaborative public judgment together from a great range of individual responses. By stitching together the private and public in such complex patterns, the playgoers at Buckingham's commissioned performance of *Henry VIII* and at very many other plays throughout the period helped to craft the transformative reformation of space that was undertaken in the common playhouses of early modern England.

NOTES

1. For an overview of the theory of publics, see Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, Introduction to *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1–21.
2. For a critique of my use of “nobodies” and “somebodies,” see Javier Castro-Ibaseta, “Sonnets from Carthage, Ballads from the Prison: Entertainment and Public Making in Early Modern Spain,” in *Forms of Association: Making Publics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Paul Yachnin and Marlene Eberhart (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, forthcoming).
3. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 38.
4. This and all following quotations from Shakespeare are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al., 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).
5. Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), ed. Michael Kierman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 3. I have modernized the spelling of Bacon's text.
6. E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), app. D, Documents of Control, 271.
7. Chambers, 4:320.
8. *Riverside* and other editions gloss “gaping” as “bawling,” that is “making a loud noise,” which fits the context, but a more likely primary meaning has to do with hungry looking, as “to stand gaping, and gazing about, as home-bred hoydons do when they come into an honourable presence.” Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* (1611), from *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, accessed November 10, 2011, leme.library.utoronto.ca/lexicon/entry.cfm?ent=298-4687.
9. For a good discussion of the relationship of “the public” and publics, listen to the fourteenth episode of the CBC Ideas series, “The Origins of the Modern Public,” <http://www.cbc.ca/ideas/episodes/features/2010/04/26/the-origins-of-the-modern-public/>.
10. For excellent discussions of conscience and private judgment in the period, see the chapters by Vanhaelen and Kirby in this volume.
11. For the first two phrases quoted in this paragraph, see Arendt, 178–180. “Second life” is quoted by Arendt (on page 24) from Werner Jaeger, *The Ideals of Greek Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 3: 111. For the ethical and ontological centrality of “appearance,” see 176: “Speech and action reveal this unique distinctness. Through them, men distinguish themselves instead of being merely distinct; they are the modes in which

human beings appear to each other, not indeed as physical objects, but qua men. This appearance, as distinguished from mere bodily existence, rests on initiative, but it is an initiative from which no human being can refrain and still be human."

12. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 198–199.
13. I take issue with her account of public spatiality as unified in part because I take seriously her idea about how things can anchor the formation of public space by gathering differently minded people around them. The MaPs Project developed an account of how the vast expansion of the production and importation of new things and kinds of things in early modern Europe—books, paintings, Amerindian artifacts, printed music, musical instruments, globes, ballads, mathematical equations and so on—fostered the making of new publics. An idea of a plural and multiform public space, an agglomeration of spaces both actual and virtual, is consistent with this account of the plurality and great variety of things around which people gathered.
14. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 93.
15. Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment* (London, 1604), B1v–B2.
16. For an excellent discussion of *camera regis* and the theater, see Ian Munro, *The Figure of the Crowd in Early Modern London: The City and Its Double* (New York and Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 75–103.
17. *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum*, ed. Kathleen M. Coleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 126. Dekker's own text continues, "Nothing that they speak could be made anything, yet all that was spoken sounded to this purpose, that still his Majesty was coming."
18. See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13–22.
19. Ben Jonson, *Five Plays*, ed. G.A. Wilkes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), *Bartholomew Fair*, "Induction on the Stage," lines 75–80.
20. "Prologue," *The Roaring Girl*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), lines 3–6.
21. For the behavior of early modern playgoers, see Gurr, *Playgoing*, 80–114.
22. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 2:115–116.
23. See Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 119–135. See also Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin, Introduction to *Richard II*, by William Shakespeare, ed. Anthony Dawson and Paul Yachnin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2–33.
24. For more about *Hamlet* along these lines, see my essay "Hamlet and the Social Thing in Early Modern England," in *Making Publics*, 81–95.
25. Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 90.
26. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 32, 38. For a brilliant critique of Habermas's account of early modern English theater, see Steven Mullaney's chapter in this volume.
27. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 36.
28. See, for example, Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 109–142.
29. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 51.

30. Thomas Cogswell and Peter Lake, "Buckingham Does the Globe: *Henry VIII* and the Politics of Popularity in the 1620s," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60 (2009): 253–278.
31. Quoted in Gordon McMullan, Introduction to *King Henry VIII*, by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, ed. Gordon McMullan (London: Thomson, 2000), 15–16.
32. It is worth noting that the assassination of Buckingham, which took place two weeks after the Globe performance, occasioned widespread rejoicing.

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